

MARCH 20, 1972

Special Issue
THE AMERICAN WOMAN



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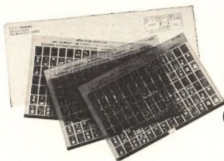
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LETTERS

In A Letter from the Publisher in the issue of Feb. 7, we issued a special invitation to our female readers to write to us about their experiences and attitudes as women, and to tell us how their views on this subject have changed in recent years. The following is a sampling of the response:

Times Have Changed

Sir / Being a woman is more fun than it was ten years ago. Times have changed and I with them. Only now do I realize the source of my past discontent and I relish my new-found freedom.

At times speaking my mind may make others uncomfortable, but oh what it does for me.

PAMELA LUCARELLI
Kirkland, Wash.

Sir / Women are more aware of the personal worth and professional potential of each other now. I too had sung the choruses, "I'd rather talk to men than women" and "coeds are all parrots." We joined in the great putdown, even of each other, and then, being outside the Brotherhood of Men, had either to go it alone second class or latch on to a man who would give us his "success."

Now I will not accept the injustices, oversights and cultural limitations imposed by inaccurate language and logical concepts. I respect the right of all women and men to a full range of life-choices and to self-determination.

GERALDINE HAMMOND
Wichita, Kans.

Sir / As a member of the "do nothing" generation (college class of '59) I'd always accepted the role of wife and mother. Pantie raids came before my time and rioting, hippies and pot came after. Thirty-three years of conditioning told me that I was not very smart, not very pretty, not very strong, and that achievement really wasn't expected of me because I was female. My parents were noticeably relieved when I married.

Becoming involved in the abortion reform issue during the past year has opened up a whole new world to me. Women are at last emerging from their cocoon and saying "why?" Maybe we do have a workable brain after all. I'm having a wonderful time using mine at last.

(MRS.) VIRGINIA HANSON
Jackson, Mich.

Sir / My experience is in two fields—the arts and business. In my area in the arts (opera chorus), voice requirements preclude discrimination. In business, however, my field is communications and until eight months ago my case was classic—same work, much lower pay, no status, no opportunity for advancement. Then suddenly I was promoted to management level, a "first" with this company. Who can say why? Women's Lib, Government regulations, more enlightened executives, devoted work at any job they gave me. Probably a combination of all.

Women must work as hard as ever, but at last it is beginning to be worth it.

VINETTE BOYCE
New York City

Sir / I used to think Women's Lib was silly, but I suppose every woman has her own personal moment of realization that some people seem to be more equal than

others. Mine came last year when I was the only woman elected to the board of directors of our local teachers' organization. When we sat down for our first meeting I was given a pad of paper because it was naturally assumed that I would take notes. Pow! The message was loud and clear.

Suddenly a lot of abstractions became more concrete.

For some reason I like myself as a woman more than I used to. We probably need female pride as much as men need machismo.

MARY FOX
Denver

Sir / The consciousness-raising insight that women can be leaders as well as followers is going to revolutionize social roles.

I entered a religious community at 18 and found a group of women who were used to handling their internal everyday business with greater independence from men than the ordinary woman. Sisters were hospital administrators, principals and college presidents, positions in which their lay colleagues were rarely found. Externally, of course, a male-dominated church had great power and influence over the community. It still does. But the renewal in women's religious communities has thrown many male churchmen into a panic.

Women in the church and elsewhere are beginning to influence policy and demand a share in decision making. Women are becoming leaders.

BETTY BERGER, O.S.F.
Little Falls, Minn.

Anger

Sir / Anger is my first reaction to being an American woman of today. I am supposed to tread lightly and pounce graspingly at the same time. That is to say, I should be self-assured, well educated, straight talking, logical thinking, non-wasteful and independent. Concurrently, I am to use these talents subtly so as not to appear unfeminine. Then I am told my decision-making capacities are distorted due to my constant emotionality.

You know what? They're right about the emotionality, because if this situation continues, 75% of us are either going to have psychotic breakdowns or at the very least be raving schizophrenics.

(MRS.) BARBARA ENGEL
Rancho Bernardo, Calif.

Sir / Yes—my attitudes have changed nearly 180° in the past four years. I am very much aware of women's issues, and I act upon my beliefs. I boycott things that denigrate women by inference (feminine "hygiene" deodorants, douche devices, etc.), or through advertising (National Airlines). My vote is heavily influenced by how a candidate stands on women's rights. I have been pushed, insulted, protected, ignored, discriminated against and shouted out to a militant stand. Enough.

ALINE M. KAPLAN
Brooklyn

Sir / I was a wide-eyed believer in the American myth (work hard, bathe daily, and all good things will accrue to you), so I entered college to study mechanical engineering.

Several years later, I'm in the per-

sonnel waiting room of Aerojet-General Corp., seeking summer employment as an engineering aide. Scattered about on the other sofas, stiff and starchy engineers. A Bull Connor of a personnel man props his elbows on the counter and bellows, "So you wanna be an engineer, huh?" Up-roarious laughter all round. I can still feel the engulfing wave of humiliation.

MARY ST. JOHN
Los Angeles

Sir / It was 30 years ago when discrimination hit where it hurt most—in the pocketbook. Wages were low. The small loan company paid me \$85 monthly, just enough to live on. One day I asked the manager why the men were paid more and he explained, "So they can support a wife and children."

"If I were supporting my mother and sister, would I be paid the same as a man?" No.

The unfairness made me angry.

Ten years later I was working for a bank as a teller when the personnel director stopped for a chat. "I just want you to know how pleased we are with women tellers. We had been afraid the work might be too demanding, but they handle money as well as men do."

"And they cost a lot less, don't they?" I asked, but received no reply.

Frustration again and still.
(MRS.) RACHEL VANDERFORD
Tucson, Ariz.

Sir / I am 18 years old, and the thing that has me the maddest is the fact that the Milwaukee Symphony won't hire me as an usher because I'm a woman and it doesn't look as if I'm going to be able to come up with the money to take the thing to court. Yeah, let's leave things the way they are; I can always take that new waitress job I was offered, wearing black hot pants and a white stretch blouse.

"You can't take metal shop," the school officials told me, even though I desired the background for my further studies in sculpture. "You're a girl."

Damn it, I'm at the front door of my role as an American woman, but I have a terrible, haunting suspicion that that door may be too heavy for me to open all the way, and I might have to sort of squeeze in sideways. You know, my good legs could probably get me a lot of money in those hot pants.

HEIDI HILF
Milwaukee

The Children

Sir / As late as 1964 I wrote that I wished the feminists would stop trying to make us housewives feel guilty because we don't want to go out and get another job. Yet if I am honest, I must credit the Women's Liberation movement for part of my present restlessness.

Another factor in my disenchantment with Eden has been the attitude of my eldest son. He wanted someone to come to school to tell of our six months in England. I volunteered, but he said, "I think it would be better if Dad came. I could introduce him as a chem engineer. No one has his mother come!"

VIRGINIA R. CHRISTENSEN
Orem, Utah

Sir / I recently checked over my son's math homework. His answers were all right, but the problems were all wrong. In one problem the boys were building a clubhouse and needed unknown quantities of wood and nails. But while the boys were hammering and sawing, Betsy and

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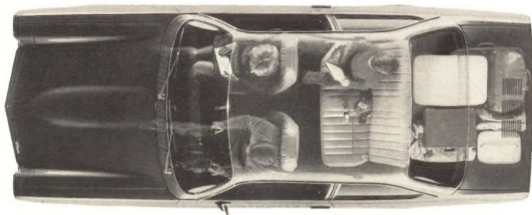
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Sue were fetching. Betsy could carry 18 nails and Sue, poor klutz, could only carry seven. The boys went on to build a raft, while the girls got to boil eggs for their lunch.

Two years ago, I wouldn't have noticed that there was a problem with math problems. Now, I figure that if the boys fetch their own nails, the girls would have a chance to build a raft. And once we ladies climb onboard that raft, we're gonna travel a long, long way from home.

CAROL KEOUGH
Chalfont, Pa.

Sir / The modern woman's concept of herself is undoubtedly changing, but irreparable damage has already been done. Trying to change a woman's long-ingrained self-image is like telling a three-year-old dog that she is really a cat.

One of the greatest challenges today is in the raising of daughters. Young girls must be surrounded by an environment that says that a girl is a human being just like a man with the same potential for success or failure—that girls are doctors, engineers, dentists, garbage collectors, accountants, mechanics and chemists. It must be slowly gleaned through years of observation. Mommy doesn't always cook dinner, and Daddy doesn't spend every hour home flopped on the sofa in front of the TV.

SUSAN J. MEKEEL
Racine, Wis.

Sir / I have thrown myself wholeheartedly into the women's rights movement, trying to make up for 44 years of lost time—not necessarily for myself but for other women who will come after me, including my daughter. It is also an involvement for my sons, too, for I don't want them growing up with the same old-fashioned ideas held generally by men about

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JOANNE L. DUMINE
Oxon Hill, Md.

Back to School

Sir / As a 19-year-old bride, I was eager to be a doting wife, and, although I had a job, to be a perfect housekeeper as well. My life revolved around my husband. Four years later, I find myself a full-time mother of two children.

I am not a member of Women's Lib, but its views have made me honestly examine myself. As soon as the children are in nursery school, I am going back to college to get a degree and to seek a career in social service.

(MRS.) BIRGIT SALE
Ventura, Calif.

Sir / After raising three children, I went back to college and gathered a B.A. and a Masters degree in English. People who regard higher education as a key to the vault ask me, "And what are you doing with all your education?" My answer is: "Enjoying it." You asked about reordering my life—thank you, but no, it's been challenging, amusing, difficult, rewarding, and more than I deserve.

(MRS.) MARIE PRESTON HISLOP
Verona, N.J.

Back to Work

Sir / Eight years ago I was a housewife, a mother, a college dropout. Today I'm still a housewife and mother, but I'm also teaching English at a university and working on a doctoral dissertation.

During the years of my involvement with school, the members of my family have all become infected with the idea of equal opportunities for women, and we have no arguments about whether a woman should be a doctor, a truck driver, President, or subject to the draft. We do somehow often seem to get stuck, however, at details like who does the dishes or whose turn it is to clean the bathroom. Until the rise of the recent Women's Movement, I accepted the family's help with "my" household chores gratefully. Now I wonder what divine or cultural decree gave me so many jobs in the first place, and I am less grateful.

MARIANNE GILBERT BARNARD
Storrs, Conn.

Sir / No bra burner I, but my attitudes have most assuredly changed in recent years. I got my comeuppance four years ago when the Viet Nam War intruded into my snug little bridge-club and bowling-league world, and my eldest child, then 21, was killed. After six months of weeping and working myself into a psychoneurotic state, I asked myself, "What the hell are you doing to yourself and your other four kids?" So at 46 I enrolled myself in college and am pursuing a career that I always wanted to try. And the kids haven't suffered a bit. They're proud that their mother is the world's oldest living senior.

(MRS.) PAT ANDERSON
Oak Park, Ill.

Sir / Had Women's Lib matured sooner, I might have gone to trade school to become either a carpenter or cabinetmaker. I may still try it after our two children enter school. My husband approves, but my father, a carpenter, feels that in a job



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LETTERS

situation the men would be more interested in the fact that I was female than that I was co-worker.

MARGARET B. LANGE
Saint Inigoers, Md.

Sir / I finally admitted to myself that housework was downright boring and did nothing to challenge my intellect. So I went back to work as a medical lab technician and later back to college for my B.S. degree. At first I felt guilty, but my husband soon noticed how my spirits and disposition improved. My job gave me a sense of worth and purpose that I did not get from washing dishes and scrubbing floors.

(MRS.) LOIS O'KEEFE
Youngwood, Pa.

Ways and Means

Sir / What makes me sad is the national waste! Thousands of qualified potential doctors who were never educated, thousands of potential lawyers who were never admitted to the bar, thousands of excellent teachers who never got Ph.D.s, and sadder of all, thousands of women who have been kept in jobs which they have outgrown and whose wisdom and gifts have never been utilized.

It is to prevent this waste again, to slow it, and finally eradicate it, that I support in my heart and prayers the work of the female liberationists.

JEANNE Z. BOHN
Charlotte, N.C.

Sir / Seven years of marriage and three children later, I feel much more pressured and tied down than I did while studying (hard!) to complete my Ph.D.

I still insist that it is the right thing for a mother to stay at home. On the other hand these women should be treated as "working women": they should receive a regular reasonable allowance plus a two-to-four-week yearly vacation which could very well be realized if there were more (overnight) camps for children and reasonably priced vacation homes.

No woman can be expected any more to work "cheerfully" on a voluntary basis around the clock seven days a week, 365 days a year!

DELE HUSCHKE, PH.D.
Wilmington, Del.

Sir / As a single woman, now 86, I have enjoyed my long career as an artist-writer too much even to consider becoming a housewife. I luckily began at a time when the market for illustrations was at its peak. By 1908 six of my cover designs had appeared on *The Saturday Evening Post*, but since I was paid only \$60 each—a fraction of what the male artists received—I quit. When the market folded, due to the Depression, I switched to writing. My many books have sold well and long. Experience has led to this conclusion: Women who want to marry, should; they may have to have a job too, for money.

What the career woman wants is respect for what she accomplishes. If she deserves it, she should have it, along with equal pay for equal work.

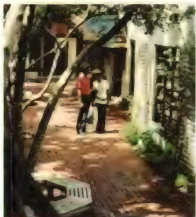
FRANCES ROGERS
Woodstock, N.Y.

Liberation Backlash

Sir / I've begun to suffer the disillusionment of "Liberation Backlash" already. For I've seen that for a wife and mother to return to work there is little financial



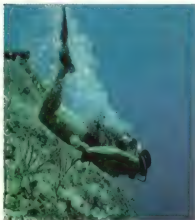
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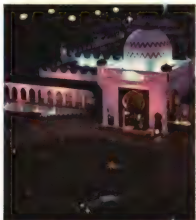
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ARTHUR GODFREY

That should give you some idea of how the '72 Chrysler is put together.

I've spent some time watching them put the 1972 Chryslers together. And I've talked to the guys responsible for building these cars. Believe me, if you're hunting for a car that's built to last, this is it.

This is the Chrysler Newport Royal. You'd never know from looking but it's the lowest-priced Chrysler. It's big. It's quiet. And it's built to last. If that isn't the kind of car America wants, I don't know what is.



I have worries about our environment. So I was pleased to hear of Chrysler's new electronic ignition. It eliminates the points and condenser, and is virtually maintenance free. And it helps keep the engine in tune longer. That's important to me, because a tuned engine means cleaner exhaust.



Coming through with the kind of car America wants.

That's their slogan this year, and I think they're doing just that. I saw the way their cars are built. And I think Chrysler does have the kind of car America wants: a car that will last longer and perform better than any car they've ever built before. Ask your Chrysler-Plymouth dealer for a test drive.



THE NATION

AMERICAN NOTES

Thinning the Veil

Since World War II, Government secrecy has developed into a pervasive bureaucratic habit, an ominous development for a system of, by and for the people. It reached the point where Defense Department subalterns were classifying newspaper clippings, administrators used their secret stamps to conceal waste and stupidity, and the vaults of Washington were choked with millions of pages of momentous or banal information that the public was paying millions of dollars a year for the privilege of never seeing.

Last week, after more than a year's review of Government secrecy, the White House overhauled the classification procedures for the first time since 1953. Not that the Government is exactly throwing open its filing cases. The President reduced the number of officials authorized to classify from 5,100 to 1,860. At the other end of the process, the minimum time for automatic declassification of low-sensitivity papers was cut from eight years to six, and most papers will be automatically declassified in ten years.

Nixon said that he wants an "open" Administration. "Fundamental to our way of life," he declared, "is the belief that when information which properly belongs to the public is systematically withheld by those in power, the people soon become ignorant of their own affairs, distrustful of those who manage them." But with a six-year limit on classification, the Administration he was declaring open was Lyndon Johnson's.

The new executive order raised an intriguing question: Would the classification of the Pentagon papers have been "legal" under the new rules? Perhaps. Some of the six-year-old material in the papers could have been acquired by the public without breaking the law, but even that is in doubt, since the study, which dealt with national security, would have required special clearance in any case.

Death of the Middleman

"I die," Paul L. Cabell Jr. wrote to his students, "to emphasize to you and all minority people who ever dream to be free that it can only come through working together. It seems that there is no other way for me to get your attention." With that, Cabell, the black assistant principal

of a racially troubled high school just outside Flint, Mich., put a shotgun to his head and pulled the trigger.

Cabell had apparently been frustrated by the racial incidents at Beecher High School, which has an enrollment of 1,000—65% white and 35% black. First a group of black students refused to attend classes, calling the curriculum irrelevant. Then fist-fights between blacks and whites broke out for four days in a row; one white student was hit over the head with a chair. When he tried to make peace, Cabell, who was 26, found himself in the middle—"nigger" to some whites and "Uncle Tom" to some blacks.

His suicide seemed out of all proportion to the comparatively minor unrest at the school, but it did have a certain brutal eloquence. On the day last week that Cabell's death was announced over the school's public address system, some blacks in the cafeteria mistakenly thought a group of whites were applauding his death. The fighting started all over again.

V.C., R.I.P.

An infantry company from the 1st Air Cavalry Division ambushed a team of Viet Cong tax collectors recently in the jungles northeast of Saigon. After collecting the enemy's weapons, the G.I.s dug the customary shallow mass grave for the five slain V.C.

What followed was not so customary. After covering the enemy corpses with a green rubber poncho, the men who had just killed them stood with bared heads as an Army chaplain conducted a brief funeral service. Intoned Chaplain Michael Chona: "May they rest in peace, O Lord, we implore you to grant this mercy to our dead brothers that they who held fast to your will by their intentions will not receive punishment in return for their deeds."

It was like a Southeast Asian version of *The Grand Illusion*. The weird gallantry seemed even more bizarre after years during which both sides have sometimes collected the ears of the dead and otherwise mutilated corpses. Perhaps with the end in sight, there is some impulse to introduce a belated battlefield politesse. The new policy of helicoptering in a chaplain to hold funerals for the enemy took effect when Brigadier-General James F. Hamlet assumed command of the division's 3rd Brigade. Said one brigade officer: "The general feels it is the humane thing to do."



KLEINDIENST OUTSIDE HEARING ROOM



COLUMNIST JACK ANDERSON RELAXING IN HIS



FORMER ATTORNEY GENERAL MITCHELL
Whiff of a deal persisted.

Slugging It out over the ITT Affair

THE public record on this episode is blotted with falsehood. The aura of scandal hangs over the whole matter. If Mitchell says under oath what he said in the statement he issued it will be one of the most arrogant displays of perjury this committee has ever heard.

The sedate hearing room of the Senate Judiciary Committee had rarely rung with such harsh language. Columnist Jack Anderson was pressing his charges that the Nixon Administration had settled antitrust suits against the giant ITT Corp. in return for up to \$400,000 in backing to bring the Republican National Convention to San Diego (TIME, March 13). As the second week of tense testimony unfolded, Republican officials were still on the defensive. The Administration



WASHINGTON OFFICE

had requested the hearings, hoping to dispel quickly any whiff of a deal. Thus far it had failed, and gleeful Democrats were only too happy to prolong the agony in an election year.

Conflicting. The political stakes were high. For the Government and a corporation to collude on such a matter would be a crime. President Nixon was described as wanting the Justice Department to make "a reasonable settlement" with ITT. Also at issue were the integrity of the President's closest political and legal adviser, John Mitchell, and the fitness of Mitchell's deputy, Richard Kleindienst, to be confirmed by the Senate to succeed him as Attorney General. Equally assailed was the trustbusting reputation of Richard McLaren, Mitchell's former antitrust chief and now a federal judge. Over it all loomed the blemished image of a hard-drinking, tart-tongued ITT lobbyist, Dita D. Beard, who was ill in a Denver hospital and unable to testify. It was her memo, as reported by Anderson, that described the supposed deal.

As Democrats and Republicans on

the committee thrust and parried in the dramatic duel, the testimony turned complex. Only a few basic facts had not yet been disputed. The Government, under the aggressive McLaren, had begun moving against ITT in 1969, trying to prevent the nation's eighth largest industrial corporation from expanding. McLaren, determined to pursue the issues to the Supreme Court, wanted clarification of the Government's powers to limit the growth of conglomerates—a matter on which the court had never ruled. In the early summer of 1971, San Diego had little interest in bidding for the Republican Convention, but Nixon wanted it there. Local financing was one problem. At a private dinner meeting in San Diego on May 12, ITT President Harold S. Geneen told Republican Congressman Bob Wilson of San Diego that ITT would pledge up to \$400,000, if needed, to finance the convention. San Diego was selected as the convention site on July 23. On July 31, the Justice Department announced that it was dropping its suits against ITT and had reached a settlement.

The Administration claims these events were coincidental: Anderson sees a cause-and-effect relationship.

Questions. Through the confusing testimony, the Administration was presenting a multiple defense: that there could not have been a deal because the Justice Department, from Mitchell to Kleindienst and McLaren, was unaware of ITT's convention pledge at the time it settled with ITT; that the decision to settle was made entirely by McLaren on sound legal grounds and uninfluenced by politics; that Dita Beard was too emotionally unstable to be credible. The testimony thus raised several basic questions:

When did Justice Department officials learn of the ITT convention pledge?

Mitchell, who was awaiting his turn to testify, claimed that he "was not involved in any way with the Republican National Committee convention negotiations and had no knowledge of anyone from the committee or elsewhere dealing with ITT." Anderson, testifying crisply and obviously enjoying the spotlight, branded this false. He claimed that California Lieutenant Governor Ed Reinecke and an aide, Edgar Gillenwaters, told Mitchell about the ITT pledge, made through its subsidiary Sheraton Corp., in Mitchell's office last May. "Now Reinecke is singing a different tune," Anderson said. "He says they didn't talk with the Attorney General about the convention until September. This makes no sense. The whole gist of

Mr. Gillenwaters' account is that there was doubt whether the convention would be held in San Diego. By September, the city had been selected."

Did Nixon or Kleindienst intercede?

Anderson's legman, Brit Hume, 28, told the committee that Mrs. Beard claimed Mitchell had told her that President Nixon wanted Justice to "lay off" ITT. When he pressed her, Hume said, she softened this to say that Mitchell's actual words were that the President urged "a reasonable settlement." Mitchell promptly issued a statement calling this "totally false" and added: "The President has never, repeat never, made any request to me directly or indirectly concerning the settlement of the ITT case, and I took no part in that settlement."

Kleindienst had shaken off his nervousness of the week before and now testified with his usual confidence; nevertheless he still seemed imprecise about his involvement. He had earlier backed off from his claim that he had had nothing to do with negotiations, conceding that he had talked to two ITT officials about the case. Last week he corrected his testimony again to reveal that he and McLaren had asked Solicitor General Erwin N. Griswold to seek a delay in one ITT case pending before the Supreme Court. "I believe that Judge McLaren and I had a rather hazy recollection," Kleindienst explained. He also claimed that he had never read a letter about the cases sent to him in April by Lawrence Walsh, an antitrust chief in the Eisenhower Administration and now an ITT counsel on antitrust matters. As Massachusetts Democrat Edward Kennedy persistently questioned him, Kleindienst snapped: "There wasn't a fix here. There wasn't a payoff. There wasn't any bribe."

Did McLaren alone decide to settle with ITT?

McLaren blew up at similar questions about whether others had influenced his decision to settle. "I was not pressured or influenced by anyone in any way!" he shouted. "I think it's absolutely outrageous the way these committee proceedings are going. There was no hanky-panky about it." Yet McLaren, too, had refreshed his memory since the week before. Now he conceded that he had talked to the chief White House troubleshooter on relations with corporations, Peter Flanagan (see box, next page). "Mr. Flanagan was simply a conduit," McLaren said. Flanagan obtained a report on the financial impact that ITT would sustain if it was required to divest its

THE NATION

self of Hartford Fire Insurance Co., as McLaren had been insisting it must. The analysis helped change McLaren's mind. "I read the report and found it persuasive," McLaren said.

That was a surprising admission. The report had been prepared by Richard Ramsden, 33, a former White House fellow and now an investment consultant on Wall Street. Ramsden spent just two days analyzing the \$7 billion-a-year conglomerate, was paid \$242—and delivered his report to Flanigan rather than the Justice Department. California Democrat John Tunney asked whether the fact that Ramsden's firm manages some 200,000 shares of ITT stock would affect Ramsden's objectivity. "No," replied McLaren. "it wouldn't bother me a bit." But could not a negative report by Ramsden have adversely affected the stock's value? "I have no comment," said McLaren. The angry McLaren attributed his reversal to this report, his

own antitrust experience and consultation with the Treasury Department. But he conceded under questioning that the Treasury involvement consisted of one brief telephone call.

Is Dita Beard believable?

One of her physicians, Dr. Victor L. Liszka, testified that she tended to drink "excessive" amounts of liquor, often used tranquilizers at the same time, which is a "bad combination," and was suffering from a weak heart that impaired blood circulation to the brain. All that, he said, made her behavior "distorted and irrational." Going far beyond medical matters, he said she was "mad and disturbed" when she wrote her memo, and now had a "mental block" against recalling why she wrote it. He said that when she approached Mitchell at a Kentucky Derby party last May in the mansion of then Kentucky Governor Louie Nunn, Mitchell gave her "a dressing down

such as I never heard in my life." He told her to limit any discussion of ITT to "proper channels."

Liszka's testimony became suspect when he admitted talking to Justice Department officials about it both before and after visiting Mrs. Beard in Denver. Moreover it was learned that U.S. Attorneys had recently investigated him on charges of fraud in Medicare billings (he was subsequently cleared), and was still considering similar accusations against his doctor-wife Katherine.

Nunn appeared as a surprise witness to describe Mrs. Beard as "obsessed about losing her job" at the party and as one who "drinks quite heavily." He said that Mrs. Beard repeatedly tried to get Mitchell to talk about ITT, claiming the company was getting "a damn rotten deal." But each time Mitchell brushed her off, Nunn said, and Mitchell told her that "he didn't want to hear any more about

Flanigan's Shenanigans

EVERY Administration has its in-house contact with big business—a staff aide or presidential intimate to hear the complaints, plead the cases and soothe the ruffled feathers of the fat cats and Pooh-Bahs. The position naturally invites allegations of mollycoddling business at public expense. But few have held it have proved more controversial or more subject to charges of favoritism than Peter Flanigan, Richard Nixon's "Mr. Fixit" when it comes to powerful business interests.

A millionaire former Wall Street investment banker (Dillon Read), Flanigan, 48, is variously regarded as a mischievous genius of finance, a wheeler-dealer and the business community's best friend at the White House. According to Ralph Nader, Flanigan is the "most evil" man in Washington because he so often appears to be responsible for shifts in presidential policy favorable to business.

When the ITT brouhaha arose, many predicted that it was only a matter of time before Flanigan's name surfaced—and with good reason. Since he was appointed a presidential assistant three years ago, Flanigan has been the focal point of every controversy about business influence involving the Nixon Administration. Two of Flanigan's more notable shenanigans:

► In 1970 he was accused of using improper influence to gain a Treasury Department waiver permitting an oil tanker to engage in coastal shipping trade, thereby increasing the ship's value by \$5,000,000. The tanker, it was discovered, was owned by officials of Dillon Read. Flanigan too had held a share in the vessel and had disposed of it only five days before the waiver was granted. Flanigan's reply: "I did not even know Treasury was considering a waiver."

► When a Government task force recommended elimination of the quotas on oil imports two years ago, the domestic oil industry, which stood to lose billions of dollars, was up in arms. Anticipating the repercussions among oil-rich G.O.P. campaign contributors,

the President ordered a new "study" of oil-import quotas. Not surprisingly, the second commission disagreed completely with its predecessor and recommended the retention of the tariffs. Though not officially involved, Flanigan sat in on so many of the second task force's deliberations that one participant remarked, "I thought he was a member." Pointedly, it was Non-Member Flanigan who informed the group of the decision it was supposed to make.

Flanigan's rejoinder to his critics in such cases is that "every decision that I have made I believe has been made in the public interest." It is a fact, moreover, that despite his obvious business bias, he is often hard-boiled with businessmen. Besides, Flanigan does frequently take the rap for decisions made higher up in the White House, where his loyalty is above question. He is extremely close to the President. He headed "Citizens for Nixon" in 1960, and when Nixon moved to New York after his defeat in California in 1962, Flanigan helped him raise funds for other Republican candidates during the five-year span when such activity was Nixon's only political lifeline.

His reward was the White House appointment and, in the Administration's early days, responsibility for clearing foreign-embassy appointments—one of the choicest of patronage plums. Last month, in addition to his other jobs, he assumed the leadership of the Council on International Economic Policy, and he now meets often with the "Quadriad," the top economic policymakers of the Administration, and has the final word on any appointee to the federal regulatory agencies.

Princeton-educated and a mod dresser by Administration standards, Flanigan plays tennis, skis and swims, often with his attractive wife Bridget and their five children. At home in fashionable Spring Valley Park in northwest Washington, he is considered pleasant by some of his neighbors, and humorless, autocratic and rude by others. On the job he is thoroughly hard-nosed, very much Richard Nixon's no-nonsense subaltern.



WHITE HOUSE AIDE PETER FLANIGAN

it." Then Mrs. Beard became ill, collapsed in her motel room and had to be revived. In her memo, however, Mrs. Beard claimed she learned, partly through Nunn, that "Mitchell is definitely helping us, but cannot let it be known." In testifying, Nunn too could have had a personal motivation. He told the committee that he had spoken to Kleindienst to suggest his suitability for appointment as a federal judge. Curiously, before testifying, Nunn had told reporters for the Associated Press, the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Louisville Times* that he could not recall whether Mitchell and Mrs. Beard had discussed ITT at all.

Opposed. At week's end a lawyer for Mrs. Beard called a news conference at her Denver hospital to say that she "categorically denies" that any deal involving convention funds was made between ITT and the Government. She considered the hearing "an absurd circus" and wanted to testify as soon as she was medically able "in order to put at rest base rumors, innuendos and outright lies."

A broader question was whether ITT actually got a special break in the settlement, and whether the public interest was slighted. ITT was required to divest itself of six subsidiaries (Canteen Corp., Avis-Rent-a-Car, ITT Levitt & Sons, Hamilton Life Insurance Co., ITT Life Insurance Co. and one division of Grinnell Corp.), which, taken together, earned less than \$40 million last year. It was allowed to keep Hartford Fire Insurance, which not only earned \$105 million but also provides the large cash flow vital to an expanding company. The settlement was almost identical to a proposal made by the company in 1970—which McLaren then flatly rejected. Moreover no court has allowed a company's plea of economic hardship to excuse an antitrust violation—which was the basis for Ramsden's recommendation and presumably McLaren's change of view. The antitrust laws are designed to protect competitiveness in business, not to protect shareholders. The out-of-court settlement also cut off Supreme Court clarification of whether new laws are necessary to control conglomerates like ITT.

So far the Anderson charges had not been proved, but the Administration's defense had been bumbling. Officials seemed worried that the Administration's chumminess with corporations might become an embarrassing issue beyond the ITT case itself. Republicans tried to put Democrats into the same bag: National Committee Chairman Robert Dole called for an investigation of why another corporation, A.T. & T., was letting the Democratic Party charge more telephone service when it already owed \$1.5 million for past calls. Yet extending credit to a party out of power is hardly comparable to a charge of obtaining favors from Government officials.

POLITICS

From New Hampshire To Florida

Edmund Muskie was haggard and weary as the New Hampshire primary ended. He concluded his victory speech with what sounded like the grumblings of a man wary of being mugged from behind. "The one sensation that I feel most of all almost every day," he said, "is a twitching between my shoulder blades." That twitching will become more pronounced if he suffers another primary setback this week in Florida, where a very poor showing could deal him a serious blow.

As the favorite son-in-law candidate from next door Maine, Muskie had to win big in New Hampshire. His disappointing 48% of the vote raised doubts as to whether he could sew up the Democratic nomination before the convention. One reason why

Muskie slumped in New Hampshire was his effort to campaign simultaneously in several other states with upcoming primaries, particularly Florida. An easily fatigued campaigner who complains about his "mad schedule," he spent only 13 days stumping in New Hampshire this year as compared with Senator George McGovern's 24, thus spreading himself too thin. McGovern, on the other hand, steadily built up his share of the vote from 18% a month and a half ago to an impressive 37% in the end.

Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty, Indiana Senator Vance Hartke and House Ways and Means Chairman Wilbur Mills, a late-starting write-in entry, drew a total of 13% of the vote and little encouragement. On the Republican side, Congressmen Paul McCloskey (20%) and John Ashbrook (10%), attacking the President from the left and right respectively, failed to mount any serious threat. Looking on from afar, Richard Nixon weighed in with a comfortable 69%. Only three days

MUSKIE AT VICTORY CELEBRATION



HUMPHREY CAMPAIGNING IN FLORIDA



WALLACE IN FLORIDA



McGOVERN AT PRIMARY HEADQUARTERS



after the primary, McCloskey dropped out of the race.

Muskie's cause was not helped in the final days of the campaign by his weepy response to the attacks of William Loeb's Manchester *Union Leader*. When it became apparent that his margin was fraying, Muskie belatedly returned to the state for five last days of blitz campaigning. In a campaign devoid of any single burning issue, he abandoned his customary pitch as a "national" candidate and unabashedly sought support on the basis of "regionalism." Alluding to the New England "sense of community," he told a gathering in the paper-mill town of Berlin: "If I can't get help from my friends close to home, I don't know where to expect it."

Despite Loeb's attacks, Muskie did expect help from Manchester, the state's largest city and a Democratic stronghold that accounted for 20% of the party's total vote last week. Muskie barely held his own, managing to eke past McGovern only by the scant margin of 511 votes. Nobody had to tell Muskie that breaking even in city wards is not the way a Democrat wins nominations, much less the presidency.

Two Ends. Claiming support that was "both broad and deep," McGovern not only fared well in the working-class wards but swept 80% and 72% of the vote respectively in the college towns of Hanover (Dartmouth) and Durham (University of New Hampshire) and carried such suburban areas as Bedford and Amherst. And, while topping McCarthy's 1968 showing by more than 7,000 votes, he also managed to make off with at least five of

the 20 convention delegates that Muskie figured he had locked up.

The key to McGovern's strong showing was his youthful organization. In times past, the Senator's Washington staff had trouble arranging its office seating arrangements, let alone a campaign. Now, in a decentralization move that was probably a necessity and became a virtue, the state operations are run largely by local recruits who know their territory. In each of his forays into New Hampshire, for example, McGovern was wisely advised to stop off in Boston and hold a press conference on drugs, unemployment and property taxes. The tactic accomplished two ends: it helped erase his image as a one-issue candidate, and the Boston TV coverage was beamed widely and free of charge into New Hampshire.

In Washington, the consensus was that McGovern's showing in New Hampshire was impressive but largely inconclusive, especially since eight of the baker's dozen Democratic candidates did not even bother to enter the New Hampshire primary.

Florida could be a watershed for Muskie, but it need not be for McGovern, whose prospects there were never promising. All the chief Democratic contenders were entered in the Florida primary, and a candidate's chances hinged mainly on his stand on a hotly contested statewide busing referendum. As the most volatile of the antibusing proponents, George Wallace expected to ride out an easy victory. Far more interesting was who finished in the race after Wallace, and here Muskie faced Hubert Humphrey, his old running mate, for the first time.



IRVINGS AFTER INDICTMENT

CRIME

The Law and the Irvings

The hoax, which had once seemed a thing of dazzling design and theatrical performance, thumped toward an anticlimax. Last week Clifford Irving's elaborate production, the false autobiography of Howard Hughes, was replaced in lumpy, legalistic prose as two grand juries in New York indicted Irving and his wife Edith. One

The Poll of Polls

As part of TIME's '72 election-year coverage, Senior Correspondent John Steele will assess the performance of professional pollsters from time to time. The New Hampshire primary was their first test. Steele's report:

EVEN expert pollsters shudder when they contemplate primary elections. The voting base is small, the electorate volatile, the reins of party discipline lax—and in 1972 the Democratic candidates many. Pollster Louis Harris, who is not gauging primaries this year, points out that polling must continue virtually up to election eve to spot possible switches in voter sentiment that can run as high as 20% in the week before voting day. Given all the hazards, the polling in New Hampshire measured up reasonably well against the actual results.

The most thorough polls were taken for the Boston *Globe* by Becker Research Corp. of Boston, using sophisticated but by no means risk-free telephone polling. Becker's first poll in January showed Edmund Muskie receiving 65% of the Democratic vote, a figure that soon became a target in election stories and drew cries from the Muskie camp that their candidate was running against a phantom, i.e., the numbers.

What was to have been the final poll was taken in late February and showed a drastic change. There had

been a massive erosion of Muskie strength to 49%, and a major growth in George McGovern strength of 13 points to 31%. Even as Becker's pollsters made their second round of 435 sampling calls, Muskie was mounting a flatbed truck in the campaign's single dramatic moment to denounce, in tears, Manchester Publisher William Loeb. Another "final" poll was ordered by the *Globe*; it showed Muskie strength off still more to 42%, McGovern at 26%, and the number of undecideds inexplicably doubled to 20%.

Actually, the second final poll was rushed to meet a deadline, and depth questions were not included. The first final, as a result, came closer to the actual outcome. It was only one point off Muskie's 48% vote total, off six on McGovern's 37%, two points off on Wilbur Mills and a point off each on Sam Yorty and Vance Hartke.

Two other polls, meanwhile, had not done as well. The Public Television Service in New Hampshire took an early February sample that showed Muskie receiving 58% of the vote and McGovern 19%; it was never updated. Pat Caddell, the 22-year-old president of Cambridge Survey Research, in private polls for McGovern, gave Muskie 46% and McGovern 30%. Caddell did, however, advise correctly that McGovern could do well in blue-collar and middle-income areas by taking specific though not necessarily popular stands on issues. Overall, the polling in the nation's first primary was fairly accurate.

of the juries also indicted their burlly collaborator, Writer-Researcher Richard Suskind.

In the indictments, the New York and federal grand juries agreed on the essentials: Irving and Suskind concocted the Hughes "autobiography" 1) through extensive research into material already published about the billionaire, 2) from a pilfered manuscript written by Journalist James Phelan for an old Hughes associate, Noah Dietrich (TIME, Feb. 21), and 3) from their own imaginations. In doing their research, Irving and Suskind visited newspaper and magazine libraries in Las Vegas, Houston, New York and other cities, including that of LIFE, which had a contract to publish excerpts from the manuscript. Thus steeped in Hughesian lore, Suskind and Irving took turns pretending to be Howard Hughes, each alternately being interviewed by the other, to produce the question-and-answer dialogue form that the book eventually took. They apparently thought they could get by with the hoax because they suspected Hughes might either be dead or "not of sufficient mental or physical capacity to denounce" the book.

One of the most persistently intriguing puzzles was who had penned the expert Hughes forgeries that persuaded McGraw-Hill and some handwriting authorities that the autobiography was legitimate. The government answer: Irving himself. The indictments claim that Irving modeled his forgeries on magazine photographs showing lines from a handwritten Hughes letter. During a recent long session with federal authorities, Irving astonished the prosecutors by dashing off a near-perfect specimen of Hughes' handwriting.

Doubts. The indictments left many questions unanswered and many people unsatisfied. Hughes' agents are convinced that more conspirators were involved—including possibly someone who taught Irving how to forge so expertly and some former Hughes associates who may have supplied additional information for the book. Thus, no matter how the present legal case is resolved, Hughes' investigators will probably continue working on the remaining mysteries.

The Government's files are probably closed for the present. The charges against the three defendants—including grand larceny, conspiracy, perjury and mail fraud—could theoretically result in sentences of more than 100 years in prison for each defendant. But if the three plead guilty this week and can return the \$750,000 they extracted from McGraw-Hill, there is a chance that Irving may receive a light sentence and serve as little as six months, with Edith getting a suspended sentence in return for cooperation with authorities and Suskind being sent up for a short stretch in a state prison.

CRIME

Holding Up an Industry

"Hijacking mostly for political purposes appears to be fading. We're now confronted with something else, probably even more dangerous: extortion. We're in a new and very dangerous phase."

That ominous and prescient prediction made last month by Federal Aviation Administrator John Shaffer came all too true last week, the most frightening that U.S. aviation has ever known. The episode began with a call to Trans World Airlines by a man who called himself Gomez. He directed officials to a Kennedy Airport locker containing a note saying that there were bombs on four TWA airliners set to go off over an 18-hour period; he would locate them all in exchange for a \$2,000,000 ransom.

Before the week was out, one TWA plane, sitting empty in Las Vegas, was blasted apart. Another in New York was narrowly saved when a bomb in the cockpit was defused just minutes before detonation. Dynamite was found on a United Airlines flight to Seattle. And, in a fourth incident not disclosed by the Government, TIME Correspondent Jerry Hannifin learned that two plastic explosive devices were concealed in spray cans aboard a United 727. The cans were discovered when a federal agent searching a suspected suitcase noticed a can of Right Guard and of Noxzema seemed too heavy. There were massive delays for passengers everywhere, and at President Nixon's order all U.S. airlines began a major tightening of aircraft security and passenger screening.

Miraculously, no one was injured in the rash of bomb planting, some not the work of Gomez but probably inspired by his example. (Airport switchboards across the country were flooded with crank calls of false bomb threats.) Gomez himself gave the location of the TWA bomb that was found, warning that it was on Flight No. 7, which had just taken off from New York for Los Angeles. The plane hurried back to Kennedy Airport and was emptied; then two sniffer dogs trained to smell out explosives boarded the ship. It was their first live test, and one of them located the device almost immediately in a briefcase in the cockpit, only twelve minutes be-

fore it was due to go off. That was scary enough, but the explosion that ripped through the forward section of a TWA 707 in Las Vegas was more frightening for another reason. The plane, which had landed from New York seven hours before, had been searched three times: before departing, in the air and after it arrived. Yet somehow, someone had managed to put the bomb into the cockpit undetected.

Vigorous Security. The general consensus within industry and government is that to pay an extortionist's demands simply invites more attempts. But with a fleet of 239 planes and a daily passenger load of about 30,000 at this time of year, TWA may have felt that it had to make an attempt to deal with Gomez. A private plane, perhaps containing the \$2,000,000, flew from New York to Atlanta. It returned to New York four hours later, and a nervous TWA spokesman subsequently said that Gomez had not



BLASTED JETLINER AT LAS VEGAS AIRPORT
Three searches were not enough.

been heard from again by week's end.

All this produced the most vigorous security efforts in aviation history, measures that will now largely become a permanent part of U.S. air travel. At the direction of the President and the Department of Transportation, airlines from now on must increase the guarding of access to parked planes, tighten baggage and passenger scrutiny and make more strenuous efforts to prevent guns and explosives from being taken aboard commercial aircraft. The new procedures and equipment will cost the airlines dearly, and doubtless annoy and delay travelers. But there is no alternative to a menace that, unchecked, could cause serious disruptions for the U.S. air transport industry.

EAST-WEST

The Sudden Danger to *Détente* in Europe

THE key to any *détente* in Europe between the Soviet Union and the West is the innovative *Ostpolitik* pursued by West German Chancellor Willy Brandt. Until recently, the success of Brandt's flexible policy of accord with the Soviet bloc was virtually taken for granted in the chanceries of Europe. No longer. Today there is a very real danger that more than two years of diplomatic labors could be undone, possibly even drowning Richard Nixon's hoped-for "era of negotiation" in a renewed round of cold war invective. Improbable as it might seem—and to the distress of almost everyone concerned—the future course of East-West relations hangs on a mar-

gin of two votes in West Germany's Bundestag.

The danger exists because the European *détente* is shakily built on a series of tentative treaties and agreements that are linked together like pieces in an intricate jigsaw puzzle:

► The central pieces are the 1970 treaties of Moscow and Warsaw, which recognized the Oder-Neisse line as Poland's western border and ruled out the use of force in any future disputes between West Germany, Poland and Russia. Brandt made their ratification by the Bundestag contingent upon the conclusion of a satisfactory agreement improving the status of West Berlin.

► The Soviet Union made that settlement in last September's Berlin agreement, which guaranteed relatively free access to the divided city across East Germany. But Moscow declined to put the terms into effect until Bonn ratifies the Moscow treaty.

► For its part, NATO insists that the Berlin agreement must be functioning before the Western powers will join a European security conference, which is much wanted by the Soviets. That conference could in turn influence talks on mutual and balanced force reductions, a goal of the U.S.

Thus the whole fragile structure hinges on ratification of the Moscow treaty by Bonn's Bundestag, where Brandt's governing coalition of Social Democrats and Free Democrats until two weeks ago had a majority of 251

out of 496 seats. That slim margin is now imperiled. First, one Social Democrat Deputy declared himself opposed to the treaties and bolted to the opposition, reducing Brandt's support to 250 votes—only one more than the absolute majority necessary to ensure ratification of the treaties. Two weeks ago, a Free Democrat Deputy announced that he was undecided about how to vote, and several others were reported wavering. Two defections would cause a tie vote, defeating the treaties. Brandt airily dismissed the danger of defeat as "exaggerated and overdramatized." But the fact is that party discipline among the Social Democrats had been weakened.

Vague Terms. By contrast, the opposition Christian Democrats are united in their drive to defeat the treaties, on the grounds that the terms are vague and virtually rule out eventual reunification of the German people. The Christian Democrats want guarantees of free travel between the two Germanys and Soviet recognition of the Germans' right to self-determination. To satisfy those conditions, the treaties would have to be rewritten, which the Soviets would surely refuse to do. Christian Democratic Leader Rainer Barzel takes a sanguine view of the matter. Failure to ratify the treaties, he insists, will not result in "the collapse of the world, only the collapse of the Brandt government."

Barzel drastically understates the ominous potential for diplomatic damage. If the treaties go, so will the Berlin agreement; that could lead to resumed East German harassment of traffic between West Germany and West Berlin and, at worst, could bring on another Berlin crisis. There would be an immediate break in the painfully protracted negotiations between West and East Germany on establishing normal relations between the two governments, and an end to Bonn's talks with Warsaw and Prague.

The longer-range consequences are equally serious. Demonstrating Soviet concern, *Izvestia* warned last week that rejection of the treaties would lead "to a slippery and disastrous road." Party Boss Leonid Brezhnev, who has staked his prestige on *détente* in Europe, might have to yield ground to Moscow's hard-liners. Defeat of the treaties could also create diplomatic trouble for West Germany's allies. U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers last week termed the Berlin agreement a major achievement of the Nixon Administration. In fact, the successful



DUTCH VIEW OF "OSTPOLITIK" PROBLEMS



CHANCELLOR WILLY BRANDT

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS' RAINER BARZEL

How to pick the best color portable from Sears or anyone else

Some people wonder if they have to sacrifice color quality by getting a portable instead of a console.

Absolutely not.

On Sears Best 19-inch (diagonal measure picture) color portable, for example, you'll get the same color quality as you would from a console. Electronically they're basically the same. It's just that everything is more compact.

What you do give up is a larger cabinet, and perhaps, larger speakers.

Regardless of what color portable you buy, the two most important questions to ask are:

How good is the color?

How easy is the set to tune?

Color and a Sears advantage.

Not every portable will consistently give you good flesh-tone color.

On some sets, instead of seeing people with natural-looking complexions, you'll see people with red faces. Or even green faces. Not every time, but enough to annoy you.

Sears solution to this problem is an ingenious electronic device called ATL—Automatic Tint Lock.

Just push the ATL button on Sears Best color portable and you'll get people that look like



On some color TV's people will have red faces. Or even green faces.

people automatically. Even when you change channels.

In addition, Sears Best has: **KEYED AUTOMATIC GAIN CONTROL**—helps keep your picture from fluttering when conditions change. For example, when a plane flies over.

AUTOMATIC CHROMA CONTROL—helps keep colors from fluctuating when programs change, or you change channels.

AUTOMATIC COLOR PURIFIER—helps keep colors clear and pure.

Automatic Fine Tuning and why Sears uses it.

You'll find an AFC—Automatic

Fine Tuning control—on the better portables.

AFC fine tunes your picture automatically when you turn your set on, or flip channels.

By themselves, many people can't fine-tune their set as well as the AFC can.

Sears has AFC on its Best portable and on most others as well.

Wide screen picture, bright picture tube, other features.

The wide screen picture can enable you to see more of the televised picture than you saw before.

Like other recent innovations in color TV, the wide screen picture is on Sears Best portable.

The bright picture tube gives you a bright, clear, sharp picture.

Sears uses a superb bright picture tube in its Best portable. It gives you brightness without washing out the dark colors.

A bonded etched tube minimizes glare—from a lamp for example.

The bonded etched tube costs more, so not every television manufacturer uses it. You'll get it on Sears Best color portable.

Snap-out modules are printed circuit boards with transistors, diodes and tubes. They snap out easily for fast servicing. Sears uses them in their Best portable.

Be sure to ask about service before you buy.

Make sure you ask about service before you buy a set.

Not all retailers service the sets they sell. Sears does.

And you can count on Sears service, whether you move across the street or even

clear across the country.

In fact, we even check out each color set before we deliver it to your home.



Sears Best 19-inch (diagonal measure picture) color portable has Automatic Tint Lock and Automatic Fine Tuning.

When you buy a color set from a Sears store, your set is inspected before delivery. Not all retailers do the same.

Should Sears Best ever require service, we'll service it in your home. You won't have to bring it to us. Not every retailer offers in-home service for their 19-inch (diagonal measure picture) portables.

In addition to Sears Best, we have many other color portables, together with table models and consoles, to choose from in our stores and catalog.

Prices start under \$220.

If you like, you can use one of our convenient Sears, Roebuck & Co. credit plans.

Everything considered: service, features and Sears dependability, you get a lot more with Sears Best color portable than meets the eye.

See Sears Best at a Sears store today.

Sears

Simulated television reception on all sets.

Compare Sears Best features with the other top brands.									
Features	Sears		Brand A		Brand B		Brand C		
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	
Automatic Tint Lock	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	
Automatic Fine Tuning	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	
Bonded Etched Tube	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	
Bright Picture Tube	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	
Wide Screen Picture	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	
Instant Start	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	
Light Diffuser Screen	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	
Snapout Modules	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	
Nationwide Service	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	

TAKE THIS CHART WITH YOU WHEN YOU VISIT ANY SEARS STORE FOR MORE INFORMATION ABOUT THESE FEATURES



What Florsheim is doing for you:



We are maintaining a rapid stream of new ideas. Hundreds of new styles were created, perfected and offered for this Spring. Featured here is superbly soft kidskin with two lines of stitching that enhance today's broader toe, and balance the higher heel. Other things being done include putting men into America's largest-selling quality buckle style, guarding the authenticity of Imperial brogues, and the fact that Florsheim Shoes not only still start at \$19.95, but still stand for the finest of workmanship and materials. We do get a lot done!

Featuring: The SULTAN, 30416, gold Cavello kid; 20424, black Cavello kid.
Most regular Florsheim styles \$19.95 to \$29.95/Most Imperial styles \$39.95

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THE WORLD

outcome of those talks last fall was one reason Nixon agreed to visit Moscow in May; if the treaties are not ratified, that visit could be jeopardized.

The Bundestag will vote on the treaties in May. Meanwhile, there is an outside chance that Brandt's coalition might win the state elections that will be held on April 23 in the traditionally conservative state of Baden-Württemberg. This election could conceivably overturn the opposition majority in the Bundesrat, or upper house, which voted down the treaties in February by 21 to 20. If the Bundesrat reverses course, a simple majority of Bundestag members present and voting, rather than an absolute majority of all 496 deputies, would suffice to pass the treaties. On the other hand, if Brandt's coalition were to lose the Baden-Württemberg election by a decisive margin, that could surely inspire further defections by wavering Free Democrats, thereby bringing down the government.

Brandt would undoubtedly fight the ensuing national election campaign on the issue of *Ostpolitik*. Since polls show a slim majority of West Germans in favor of the treaties, the Chancellor could be returned with an enlarged majority, and push the treaties through. But West Germans are also deeply worried about rising prices and unemployment, and Barzel could win on the issue of economic policy alone. That would leave the Christian Democratic leader in the awkward position of trying to put together his own version of *Ostpolitik* in the face of open anger on the part of the Soviet Union and displeasure among West Germany's closest allies.

ITALY

Symptoms of Malaise

If the issues were not so serious, Italy's parliamentary election campaign this spring might rank as one of the year's more memorable real-life dramas of the absurd.

An all-time record of 82 parties have nominated candidates for the May elections, which President Giovanni Leone has called a year ahead of schedule after Giulio Andreotti's failure to form yet another center-left coalition government (TIME, Feb. 21). The parties range from far left to far right (one is even called the National Reactionary Movement), but some are a bit difficult to categorize ideologically. In addition to the Association of Free Merchants and the Autonomous Party of Pensioners, for instance, there is the all-nude Naturalist Movement, whose candidate this year is Model Anna Maria Martini, 25. Proponents of acid rock, free-sex, abortion and legalized marijuana can line up behind the *Ippi* (hippie) Party's candidate, Angelo Quattrocchi, 27.

REUTERS



NUDIST CANDIDATE MARTINI

Serious issues in a real-life drama of the absurd.

Among the best-known candidates will be Film Actor Gian Maria Volonte, star of *Investigation of a Citizen Above Suspicion*, and Concetto Lo Bello, Italy's most famous soccer referee. For militant leftists, there is Anarchist Pietro Valpreda, 39, a professional dancer by trade, who is charged with having killed 16 people and wounded 90 by planting a bomb two years ago in Milan's Agricultural Bank. Militant rightists can turn to Pino Rauti, 46, a neo-Fascist newsmonger who is accused of exploding 24 bombs at various places in 1969, including eight aboard trains on the Milan-Venice run. If elected, both Valpreda and Rauti would gain parliamentary immunity from prosecution.

The fragmentation of parties is to some extent a reflection of Italian individualism. It is also a symptom of the country's deep political malaise. The center-left coalition, dominated by the Christian Democrats, which has governed Italy for a decade, is hopelessly divided by ideological quarrels and personal vendettas. Popular disgust with the coalition's method of governing by revolving-door cabinets—four in the past two years alone—could lead to modest gains for the Communists and their far-left allies.

At the same time a growing number of chaos-weary Italians are also impressed with the law-and-order platform of the neo-Fascist Italian Social Movement, which has only 30 seats in the outgoing 630-member Chamber of Deputies, but managed to double its previous popular vote in last year's local elections. One of the neo-Fascists' major campaign issues this spring is a demand for a new constitution establishing a strong presidential system. Italians worried



VOLONTE (LEFT) IN "INVESTIGATION"

about the growing appeal of neo-Fascism take it as a bad omen that the country has not had a premature election since 1924—the year Benito Mussolini's Fascists swept to power.

FRANCE

L'Affaire Nogrette

One early morning last week, Robert Nogrette, 63, left his apartment in the Paris suburb of Boulogne-Billancourt to walk a block to the state-operated Renault automobile factory, where he has been chief of labor relations for 37 years. At 7:35 a.m., a white Renault pickup truck pulled up alongside. Two young men in beige raincoats and caps leaped out, grabbed and chloroformed Nogrette, threw him into the truck and sped away. The kidnapping stirred up a wave of popular revulsion and inspired the Paris police to one of the most intensive man hunts in its history. The reason: Nogrette had been abducted by a gang of *garchistes* (extreme leftists) as the first step in what was announced as a calculated campaign of industrial terrorism in France.

Shortly after making off with Nogrette, the kidnappers telephoned the far-leftist paper *La Cause du Peuple*, edited by French Author Jean-Paul Sartre, and identified themselves as members of the *Novvelle Résistance Populaire*, one of a dozen-odd clandestine "Maoist" groups operating in Paris. They declared that Nogrette had been taken as reprisal for the death at the Renault plant late last month of Maoist Demonstrator René-Pierre Overney, 23. Overney, fired by Renault for political agitation, was shot by the plant's chief of security, Jean-Antoine Tramoni, 25, when he and other

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Maoists charged the guards at the factory's gates. Immediately, Overney became a martyr for the country's 30,000 squabbling leftist revolutionaries, who have not had a popular common cause since the riots of May 1968, which brought Charles de Gaulle's government to the brink of collapse.

Sea of Flags. Two weekends ago, more than 50,000 revolutionary leftists and socialist sympathizers marched under an undulating sea of red flags, as Overney was buried at Père Lachaise cemetery, the place where the Communards of 1871 had been put against the wall and shot to death. Conspicuously absent from the funeral were

CGT's domination of the plant. They also threatened to bomb the apartment of Pierre Dreyfus, director general of Renault.

The threats and demands were to no avail. The government refused to budge, and public opinion was running strongly against the *gauchistes*. Perhaps fearful of stiff prison sentences should they be caught with Nogrette, the kidnapers turned their hostage loose two days after the abduction. While Nogrette was unharmed by his ordeal, the revolutionaries were politically hurt by what President Georges Pompidou called "an unspeakable act worthy of a country of savages." As the Communists predicted, "*L'affaire Nogrette*" may well have given the law-and-order-Gaullists new ammunition against the left.

PAKISTAN

Prudent Retreat

Since he came to power three months ago, Pakistan's headstrong President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has learned a few lessons in the art of compromise. Last week he headed off a crisis that could have led to further fragmentation of his country. In an important concession to his chief rival, Pathan Community Leader Khan Abdul Wali Khan, Bhutto announced that he would restore Pakistan to democratic government next August. "The curse of martial law will be buried forever, God willing," he pledged in a radio address.

Earlier in the week, a smiling Bhutto had bounded into the restaurant of the Intercontinental Hotel in Rawalpindi to welcome Wali Khan to the city. After three days of talks, the two men reached an agreement that will ease the strain—at least temporarily—on the tenuous unity of Pakistan's four remaining provinces, including Wali's strongholds of Baluchistan and Northwest Frontier.

Under the agreement, martial law will end on Aug. 14, the 25th anniversary of Pakistan's independence. On that day, the National Assembly that was elected in December 1970—minus, of course, its 169 East Bengali members—will be convened in Islamabad to draft a permanent constitution. In the meantime, Wali Khan's pro-Soviet National Awami Party will form governments in Baluchistan and Northwest Frontier. Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party, which has a 96-seat majority in the 145-member Assembly, will run the other two provinces, Punjab and Sind, as well as the central government.

Pakistan's internal troubles, however, are far from settled. One sticky but potentially divisive issue is the kind of constitution that the Assembly decides to adopt. Bhutto is believed to favor a strong presidential system,

with himself as the powerful chief executive. Wali and other opposition leaders want a parliamentary system that will give them a larger voice. But for the moment, Bhutto's prudent retreat on martial law is an encouraging sign for Pakistan's future.

CAMBODIA

Sihanouk Speaks

For nearly a month Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the deposed Cambodian head of state, had been visiting North Viet Nam for a series of strategy conferences. Last week he stopped off in Shanghai on his way back to Peking, his residence in exile since 1970. There, in the guesthouse that Richard Nixon had occupied two weeks earlier, Sihanouk granted an interview to TIME Correspondent Jerrold Schecter. "You can write," said the Prince, as he offered Schecter hors d'oeuvres of duck and roast pork with his chopsticks, "that you were served by a royal, anti-imperialistic head of state." His chief points:

ON CHINA AND VIET NAM. Sihanouk disclosed that Chinese Premier Chou En-lai had briefed him, as well as North Vietnamese leaders, on the Nixon visit. Chou reassured Sihanouk and the Vietnamese that no secret deals had been made in Peking, and added that he had told Nixon that the Chinese had not been appointed by Hanoi to settle the war. At one point, Chou cited to Nixon the example of the French withdrawal from Algeria, noting that France increased its international prestige as a result. The Premier told Sihanouk that "no progress" toward a peace agreement had been made at the talks.

ON THE NIXON VISIT. Chou told Sihanouk that "President Nixon made good propaganda for his re-election and good propaganda for China. China must do her best to make the conception of the 'yellow peril' fade away. One of the reasons why China opens her doors is to let the Americans see there is no peril."

ON THE WAR. Sihanouk and the North Vietnamese agreed that "the only way for us to obtain peace is to continue the offensive in order to persuade Nixon to give us genuine peace with total respect for our rights to self-determination. Nixon's peace proposal means that the Viet Cong must put down their weapons and go to the elections naked, while [South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van] Thieu will have his army and his police to pressure the people of South Viet Nam." The North Vietnamese, Sihanouk emphasized, link the end of Vietnamization and of U.S. support for Thieu with any settlement. A withdrawal of U.S. troops in return for an exchange of prisoners is not acceptable to Hanoi so long as the U.S. continues to support Thieu.



HOSTAGE NOGRETTE AFTER RELEASE
The wrong way to Tupamaros.

members of the powerful French Communist Party, whose union—the Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT)—represents the Renault workers. Mindful of the popular backlash in 1968 that made the Gaullists stronger than ever, and still eager to establish their political respectability, the Communists decried the disruptive tactics of the *gauchistes*. But they did denounce the Overney killing as "an extensive exercise in political provocation for the benefit of the government." For its part, the government wavered for a few days and then indicted Tramoni for homicide. Unlike the unarmed Renault guards, he had used his personal pistol to shoot Overney.

To preserve the leftist momentum created by the death of Overney, the *gauchistes* turned to terrorism in the style of the South American Tupamaros, with Nogrette as their first victim. In exchange for Nogrette, they demanded that the police release all leftists arrested in demonstrations since Overney's death, that Renault rehire 14 fired Maoists and that revolutionary unions be given a chance to contest the

ON RUSSIA V. CHINA. "The shaking of hands by Chou En-lai, Mao Tse-tung and Nixon is a result of Chinese-Russian antagonism. China is trying to isolate its No. 1 enemy, Russia. The U.S. is the No. 2 enemy. For Russia, China is the No. 1 enemy and the U.S. is No. 2. The Russians hate me. It seems that my only sin is to be too strongly supported by China."

ON CHINA'S ROLE IN ASIA. "We prefer a three-power game rather than a two-power game in Asia. The game between the U.S. and Russia is a bit dangerous. Now, with a third player, the game is fair. There are no Chinese soldiers outside China and no Chinese for-



SIHANOUK (LEFT) WITH MAO TSE-TUNG
Making love after making peace.

eign bases. If the U.S. and Russia do the same, there is no problem."

ON CAMBODIA'S FUTURE. "I have only two choices: to be a puppet of the U.S.A. or to have a Communist Cambodia—Communist but independent. There are independent Communist states. Inside they are Communist, but outside they are independent. Perhaps [North Vietnamese Premier] Pham Van Dong will make a good partner, as Tito does, for America."

ON THE COMMUNIST TROOPS IN CAMBODIA. "They are independent. In the past I believed they were puppets; now I have observed them, and it seems they are very independent-minded from the Chinese and the North Vietnamese. They unite with me now because it is in their interest. After the liberation they may not need me. My personal future does not count. What counts is for my country to be free and independent."

ON HIS OWN GOALS. "We have no complicated demands. We want peace, good food and love. How can we do that without freedom? After making peace, we want to make love."

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Lon Nol's High Hand

After two years of halting preparation, Cambodia was all set to promulgate a new constitution this week, adopting a presidential form of government. The hopes of the country's legislators, however, were summarily dashed last week by Premier Lon Nol, who overthrew Prince Norodom Sihanouk two years ago. Pronouncing the draft of the constitution unacceptable, he dissolved the Constituent Assembly, posted guards around the Assembly building in Phnom Penh and proclaimed himself chief of state and sole authority.

Lon Nol's seizure of power looked like an act of dictatorial strength, but in fact it may have been a sign of weakness. The Premier is still recovering from the effects of a stroke that incapacitated him last year, and his personal prestige appears to be waning. Even before the takeover, students in Phnom Penh had been demonstrating against the government, and the intensity of their protests is now likely to increase. More important, the palace coup by Lon Nol provides the Khmer Rouge and the North Vietnamese with a helpful propaganda tool in their efforts to rally the rural population to their side in Cambodia's unresolved war. If the Communists also step up their military efforts in the countryside, Lon Nol's troubles are bound to worsen drastically.

Heroic Exploits

Soviet Party Chief Leonid Brezhnev spent World War II as a political commissar with the 18th army, rising in rank from colonel to major general. His primary task was to ensure the political probity of his fellow officers, but, the Soviet press now reports, he also had a harrowing and even heroic combat career.

New Times, a Soviet foreign-language weekly, has recently recounted a number of previously unreported exploits by Brezhnev. During the Kiev campaign in 1943, *New Times* reported, he took the place of a machine gunner who had been killed and rallied the defenders to beat off a German attack. On another occasion, he led an assault on a German barracks near Berdichev—against the wishes of a superior officer who had ordered him to leave the area. "My place is wherever the situation requires it," Brezhnev is reported to have said.

The sudden publicizing abroad of Brezhnev's military career has puzzled many Western observers in Moscow. One guess is that the party chief's record is being recalled now because of the visit by Richard Nixon, scheduled for May. As a Navy lieutenant in World War II, Nixon helped set up forward landing strips in the Pacific; he

was cited for meritorious activities during the 1943-to-1944 battle for the island of Bougainville, where for nearly one month he was subjected to almost daily bombardment.

Lin on the Boards?

Peking has never publicly revealed the fate of former Defense Minister Lin Piao. Mao's heir apparent, who mysteriously disappeared last summer, Party officials were privately told that Lin was killed aboard an aircraft that crashed in Mongolia in September. Now a fictionalized version of his possible fate seems to have been spelled out in the revolutionary opera *On the Docks*, as performed by a troupe of Peking opera players in Shanghai.

First performed in 1969, *On the Docks* originally told of the reform of a careless young dock worker, whose mistakes were compounded by a grumbling, bourgeois warehousekeeper. Now the opera has been rewritten to make the warehousekeeper the main villain; he has been upgraded to a traffic-control man, and is an active saboteur. At the end he tries to sneak aboard a "foreign freighter" from "northern Europe" but is captured after a fight. This would change a major detail in the story of Lin's attempted defection. The opera says, in effect, that he was intercepted trying to board the aircraft that crashed in Mongolia, and was arrested after a bloody battle at Peking airport.

The party journal *Red Flag* ran the full libretto of the opera, along with a commentary noting that the traffic-control man's crime was maintaining "illicit relations with foreign countries"—precisely the charge that had been made repeatedly against Lin Piao.

Closing Time

In case any doubt remained that the withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Viet Nam is irrevocable, the mayor of Saigon provided convincing new evidence last week. He announced that by June 30 all "hostess bars" that cater to American G.I.s and civilians must move to the 9th precinct, on the far side of the Saigon River opposite the downtown area. The deadline may be the best indication yet by an official as to when withdrawal of U.S. combat troops will be completed.

At the high point of the American presence, downtown Saigon and Cholon, the Chinese section of the city, were jammed with sleazy bars in which a soldier could get a drink and drop a huge wad of piastres buying "Saigon tea" for the persuasive and elusive hostesses. The new location could make life somewhat complicated for the 25,000 to 30,000 American troops expected to remain in South Viet Nam in an advisory and logistical role. The only direct way to get to the 9th precinct is by boat.

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VOLVO

The New Woman, 1972

THE "New Woman" has been proclaimed with a certain regularity for a century and more. Ibsen brought Nora Helmer out of her doll's house in 1879, and succeeding generations have invented her anew: in Shaw's drawing-room heroines, Laurentian sensualists, Brett Ashleys, flappers, women who smoked and drank and swore and brushed their teeth with last night's Scotch, got divorced or did not bother to get married at all, wore pants, and perhaps in the mellow suburban '50s, lived to grow old as Auntie Mame.

As often as not, the New Woman was a masculine fantasy—Greta Garbo as a Soviet virago, titillatingly mannish yet secretly craving French perfume and Melvyn Douglas. Such, at least, was popular mythology—women, even in their supposed emancipation, have often been, as it were, prisoners of the male imagination. Always there was the secret, insistent vibration of sex: rebellion ends when Rhett Butler kicks down the door.

Sex emphatically remains, but something complex and important has occurred in the relationship between American men and women. Another New Woman has emerged, but she is, perhaps for the first time on a massive scale, very much the creation of her own, and not a masculine imagination—an act of intellectual parthenogenesis. The New Feminism cannot be measured entirely by the membership lists of the National Organization for Women and other liberation groups. It is a much broader state of mind that has raised serious questions about the way people live—about their families, home, child rearing, jobs, governments and the nature of the sexes themselves.

Or so it seems now. Some of those who have weathered the torrential fads of the last decade wonder if the New Woman's movement may not be merely another sociological entertainment that will subside presently, like student riots, leaving Mother, if not Gloria Steinem, home to stir the pudding on the stove while Norman Mailer rushes off to cover the next moon shot.

Certainly the movement itself has invited the ironist's eye. Foreigners have traditionally regarded American women with a sort of wary bemusement: they seemed a race of cool, assertive, pampered and sometimes savagely dominating women. In 1898, the Scots traveler James F. Muirhead observed, with what was surely a chauvinist's exaggeration: "Man meekly submits to be the heaver of wood, the drawer of water, and the beast of burden for the superior sex." Yet now the New Feminists assert—an irony that does not invalidate the argument—that it is they who are dominated.

It seems certain, at least, that sex is too important to be left entirely to ideologues. Some men have spoken of it as the last frontier of free expression. Yet in a way, the opposite is true. The appeal of sex, at least to some, is not freedom but order, represented by the clear definition of roles. Marriage is a remnant of a fixed social order that, in the past, was

thought to be a reflection of a fixed natural order. In sex, of course, men and women feel that they must prove themselves, but they do not so often feel under the bewildering obligation to define themselves. It is one area in which definition is usually unambiguously understood—one simply is a man or a woman. Perhaps for this reason, many people, male and female, are troubled by the notions of sexual equality and interchangeable social roles.

In its belief that old traditions can be changed and that men and women can learn anything—even how to be men and women—the feminist movement is characteristically American. As Critic Elizabeth Hardwick has noted, the movement rests "upon a sense of striving, of working, and it has the profoundly native ethical themes of self-reliance, personal responsibility, and equality. Preparation, study, free choice, courage, resolution: these are its images and emblems." The women's movement, she points out, is antipathetic to "the youth culture, which

appeared more as a refusal, a pause in the labor of the vineyard, sometimes a sort of quietism."

Miss Hardwick notes that when Hawthorne wrote his great parable about men and women in America, *The Scarlet Letter*, in which Hester Prynne decides to make a lonely stand against Puritanism and hypocrisy, Mrs. Hawthorne read it and said that she liked it, but "it gave her a headache." In a sense, that is where we are still.

The women's issue could involve an epic change in the way we see ourselves, not only sexually but historically, sociologically, psychologically and in the deeper, almost inaccessible closets of daily habit. Its appearance has startled men and women into self-perception. It has outraged some, freed others, left some sarcastically indifferent. Men and women have shared equally in all three reactions.

It is for such reasons that TIME is devoting most of this issue to an exploration of the status of women in America today. Our cover story is an overview of the American woman. Because the subject touches so many facets of life in different ways, each department of the magazine explores the question of women in its specialty. Most of the sections include situation reports, the facts and figures of the feminine condition—not that the numbers tell anywhere near the whole story.

In the midst of such an enterprise, it seems prudent to admit that the subject remains mysterious. If men to some extent have lost their mystique as gods and kings and hunters, women somehow have not yet lost—not quite—the aura of earth mother or Kali. To say that over 99% of women are not lawyers—and why not?—reckons without the residual mystique of women defined not so much by what they do as what they are. Perhaps all of that will change and should change. Meanwhile, we have attempted to describe what women are doing and thinking, what they are and might become.



COVER STORY

Where She Is and Where She's Going

There is a tide in the affairs of women.

*Which, taken at the flood, leads—
—God knows where.*

—Byron. Don Juan

BY all rights, the American woman today should be the happiest in history. She is healthier than U.S. women have ever been, better educated, more affluent, better dressed, more comfortable, wooed by advertisers, pampered by gadgets. But there is a worm in the apple. She is restless in her familiar familial role, no longer quite content with the homemaker-wife-mother part in which her society has cast her. Round the land, in rap session and kaffeeklatch, in the radical-chic salons of Manhattan and the ladies auxiliaries of Red Oak, Iowa, women are trying to define the New Feminism. The vast majority of American women stop far short of activist roles in the feminist movement, but they are affected by it. Many of them are in search of a new role that is more independent, less restricted to the traditional triangle of *Kindergarten, Kirche* (children, kitchen, church).

The most lordly male chauvinist and all but the staunchest advocate of Women's Liberation agree that woman's place is different from man's. But for the increasingly uncomfortable American woman, it is easier to say what that place is not than what it is.

Most reject the Barbie-doll stereotypical model of woman as staple-naveled Playmate or smiling airline stewardess. Marilyn Goldstein of the *Miami Herald* caught the feeling well when she wrote about the National Airlines' celebrated "Fly me" advertising campaign: "If God meant men to 'Fly Cheryl,' he would have given her four engines and a baggage compartment."

The New Feminism includes equality with men in the job market and in clubs, though it is not restricted to that. Already, women have invaded countless deny once reserved exclusively for the lion: there are women at McSorley's Old Ale House in New York, women in soapbox derbies and stock car races, women cadets in the Pennsylvania state police. Women have come to protest what seems to them to be the male chauvinism of rock music. An all-female group in Chicago belts out:

*Rock is Mick Jagger singing
'Under my thumb, it's all right'
No, Mick Jagger, it's not all right
And it's never gonna be
All right again.*

The New Feminism has increasingly influenced young women to stay single, and it has transformed—and sometimes wrecked—marriages by ending once automatic assumptions about woman's place. In the first issue of *Ms.*, New Feminist Gloria Stein-

em's magazine for the liberated woman, Jane O'Reilly writes of experiencing "a blinding click," a moment of truth that shows men's preemption of a superior role. An O'Reilly example: "In New York last fall, my neighbors—named Jones—had a couple named Smith over for dinner. Mr. Smith kept telling his wife to get up and help Mrs. Jones. Click! Click! Two women radicalized at once." The term *Ms.*, itself, devised as a female honorific that, like *Mr.*, does not reveal marital status, is winning wider acceptance: for example, the Republican National Committee and the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission now use it.

American men and women are looking at each other in new ways—and not always liking what they see. Reactions are ambivalent. Men feel threatened; yet sometimes, by marginal amounts, they appear more favorable than women do toward strengthening women's status in society. A Louis Harris poll taken for Virginia Slims cigarettes ("You've come a long way, baby") indicates that men favor women's rights organizations 44% to 39%, whereas women narrowly oppose them (42% to 40%). But unquestionably, consciousness has been raised all around, particularly among the more liberal and better educated. *Psychology Today* got almost 20,000 replies to a questionnaire that sampled men, women not associated with a women's group and women who were. Of the men, 51% agreed that "U.S. society exploits women as much as blacks." Nongroup women agreed by 63%, group women by 78%.

Second-Class. The New Feminism has touched off a debate that darkens the air with flying rolling pins and crockery. Even *Psychology's* relatively liberated readers are not exempt. Male letter writer: "As far as Women's Lib is concerned, I think they are all a bunch of lesbians, and I am a male chauvinist and proud of it." Female: "It's better to let them think they're king of the castle, lean and depend on them, and continue to control and manipulate them as we always have."

Activist Kate Millet's scorching *Sexual Politics* (TIME, Aug. 31, 1970) drew a frenetic reply in Norman Mailer's celebrated *Harper's* article, "The Prisoner of Sex," which excoriated many of Millet's arguments but concluded in grudging capitulation: "Women must have their rights to a life which would allow them to look for a mate. And there would be no

GIRLS AWAITING MISS TEEN-AGE CONTEST CALL IN HOUMA, LA.





LIBERATIONIST GROUP MEETS AT LOS ANGELES WOMEN'S CENTER TO PLAN COUNSELING ON ABORTION
No longer content with the homemaker-wife-mother role.

free search until they were liberated." Arthur Burns, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, complained last month: "Now we have women marching in the streets! If only things would quiet down!" Washington Post Co. President Kay Graham left a recent party at the house of an old friend, Columnist Joseph Alsop, because her host insisted upon keeping to the custom of segregating the ladies after dinner. Other social habits are in doubt. A card circulating in one Manhattan singles bar reads: IF YOU'RE GONNA SAY NO, SAY IT NOW BEFORE I SPEND ALL OF MY GODDAM MONEY ON YOU.

Many currents of social change have converged to make the New Feminism an idea whose time has come. Mechanization and automation have made brown less important in the marketplace. Better education has broadened women's view beyond home and hearth, heightening their awareness of possibilities—and their sense of frustration when those possibilities are not realized. As Toynbee had noted earlier, middle-class woman acquired education and a chance at a career at the very time she lost her domestic servants and the unpaid household help of relatives living in the old, large family: she had to become either a "household drudge" or "carry the intolerably heavy load of two simultaneous full-time jobs."

A declining birth rate and the fact that women are living increasingly longer—and also longer than men—has meant that a smaller part of women's lives is devoted to bearing and rearing children. The Pill has relieved women of anxiety about unwanted pregnancies.

All of this helped ensure a profound impact for Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*, published in 1963. In it, she argued that women lose their identities by submerging themselves in a world of house, spouse and children. The book came just at the height of the civil rights move-

ment in the South: the pressures to give blacks a full place in society inevitably produced a new preoccupation with other second-class citizens. The Viet Nam War also led to far-reaching questions about traditional American assumptions and institutions, to a new awareness of injustice.

First in Wyoming. The 1960s were not the first time in American history that civil rights and feminism were linked. Early American woman was conventionally seen, and conventionally saw herself, as the frontiersman's helpmeet in building the new nation—wife and mother of pioneers. It was the Abolitionist movement before the Civil War that helped get American feminism under way. In working against slavery, women emerged as a political force. The 1848 Women's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls, N.Y., was the first of several to demand the vote, equal opportunity in jobs and education and an end to legal discrimination based on sex.

The 14th Amendment in 1868 enfranchised blacks, but not women. In 1913 some 5,000 women, many of them bloomer-clad, marched down Washington's Pennsylvania Avenue carrying placards addressed to Woodrow Wilson: MR. PRESIDENT! HOW LONG MUST WOMEN WAIT FOR LIBERTY? About 200 women were roughed up by unsympathetic bystanders, and 169 were arrested for obstructing traffic in front of the White House. Anger over the shabby treatment of the demonstrators, plus the momentum of state women's suffrage movements—Wyoming in 1890 was the first to enfranchise women—finally got women the vote throughout the U.S. with ratification of the 19th Amendment in 1920.

"The golden psychological moment for women, the moment at which their hopes were highest, was in the 1920s and 1930s, when they won the vote and began to go to college in considerable numbers, with the expectation of entering the professions," says Clare Boothe Luce, politician, diplomat and

author. "Women then believed that the battle had been won. They made a brave start, going out and getting jobs." World War II made Rosie the Riveter a figure of folklore, and many women never before in the work force found that they liked the independence gained by working. The postwar reaction was the "togetherness" syndrome of the Eisenhower era, a doomed attempt to confer on suburban motherhood something of the esteem that pioneer women once enjoyed. From the affluent housewife's suicidal despair in J.D. Salinger's "Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut," it was not far to *The Feminine Mystique*.

Oddly, women characters have never had a particularly important place in American literature: as a rule they have had smaller roles than in English, Russian or French fiction. In *Love and Death in the American Novel*, Critic Leslie Fiedler argues that U.S. writers are fascinated by the almost mythological figures of the Fair Maiden and the Dark Lady, but "such complex full-blooded passionate females as those who inhabit French fiction from *La Princesse de Clèves* through the novels of Flaubert and beyond are almost unknown in the works of our novelists." There are memorable figures, of course: Hawthorne's Hester Prynne, John O'Hara's Grace Caldwell Tate and Gloria Wandrous, Fitzgerald's Daisy Buchanan, Dreiser's Sister Carrie, Steinbeck's Ma Joad, Margaret Mitchell's Scarlett O'Hara, Nabokov's Lolita, Roth's Sophie Portnoy.

Still, Fiedler finds American writers displaying at least covert hostility to women. Probably none has matched in misogynist invective Philip Wylie's diatribe in *Generation of Vipers* (1942): "I give you mom, I give you the destroying mother... I give you the woman in pants, and the new religion: she-popey. I give you Pandora, I give you Proserpine, the Queen of Hell. The five-and-ten-cent-store Lilith, the mother of Cain, the black widow who is poisonous and eats her mate,

THE NATION

and I designate at the bottom of your program the grand finale of all soap operas: the mother of America's Cinderella." It is a mark of the wondrous sea change of public attitudes that in a scant three decades Wylie's castrating hitch has become, in much popular mythology if not in fact, part of the wretched of the earth.

Twenty Years Older. Just where is American woman today? In a statistical overview, she is nearly 106 million strong, at the median age 30 and with a bit more than a twelfth-grade education. She is likely to be married (61.5%). She makes up more than a third of the national power force, but according to a Department of Labor survey, she generally has a lower-skilled, lower-paying job than a man does. In many jobs she does not get equal pay for equal work. (Her median earnings have actually declined relative to men.) In a recession she is, like blacks, the first to be fired. Because of the instability of marriage and a growing divorce rate, women head more and more households; 20 million people live in households depending solely on women for support.

As Patrick Moynihan pointed out in his controversial report on black family life, black women tend to be the center of households more often than white women. Black women, interestingly, are more likely to go to college than black men are. According to Christopher Jencks and David Riesman in *The Academic Revolution*, "Among other things this reflects the fact that at least until recently they have had a better chance than their brothers of getting a professional job once they earned a degree."

Early in 1964, Lyndon Johnson sent out a presidential directive pushing for more women in Government. Only in 1967 did the federal civil services start making full-scale reports on the numbers of women at the upper civil service levels of the U.S. Government. In the top grades, at salary levels beginning at \$28,000 a year, 1.6% of the jobs were held by women in 1966 v. 1.5% four years later. Midway in his present term, President Nixon promised to appoint more women, and to that end he created a brand-new position on the White House staff for a full-time recruiter of women. She is Barbara Franklin, 32, a Harvard Business School graduate who was an assistant vice president of New York's First National City Bank. She claims to have more than doubled the number of women in top Government jobs within a year.

But women in Washington seldom scale the highest reaches of power like the National Security Council. There has never been a woman Supreme Court Justice, though both Pat Nixon and Martha Mitchell lobbied for one before Nixon wound up nominating William Rehnquist and Lewis Powell. Only two women have ever

sat in the Cabinet: Frances Perkins under F.D.R. and Oveta Culp Hobby under Eisenhower. Ten years ago, there were two women in the U.S. Senate and 18 women Representatives; now there are only Senator Margaret Chase Smith and eleven women in the House. The first woman in Congress, Jeannette Rankin, elected from a Montana constituency in 1916 and still starchy at 91, ventured recently that if she had it to do all over again she would, with just one change: "I'd be nastier."

At the state and local levels, women have yet to make much impression on government. New York is the only state that has a special women's advisory unit reporting to the Governor,



JEANNETTE RANKIN AT N.O.W. RALLY
"I'd be nastier."

but its head, a black ex-newspaper-woman named Evelyn Cunningham, readily confesses: "We're a token agency." There are 63 separate agencies in the New York State government, she notes, and only 13 of them have women in jobs above the rank of secretary. Round the U.S. there are a few women mayors—among them Anna Lattari in Clifton, N.J., Patience Latting in Oklahoma City, Barbara Ackerman in Cambridge, Mass.

The last female state Governor was Lurleen Wallace in Alabama, a stand-in for her husband George, forbidden by the state constitution to succeed himself. (The first: Nellie Tayloe Ross was elected Governor of Wyoming in 1924.) The legislatures of the 50 states have a total membership of more than 7,000—including only 340 women. Few of these women have much influence, though there are stirring exceptions: New York Assembly Member Constance Cook, for example, represents a small upstate county, but led a successful fight for liberalizing the state's abortion law in 1970.

In a man's world, women still have only a ritualized place: they are received regularly and warmly only in

woman-centered trades like fashion or in acting. As Clare Luce puts it, "Power, money and sex are the three great American values today, and women have almost no access to power except through their husbands. They can get money mostly through sex—either legitimate sex, in the form of marriage, or non-married sex." Sexual freedom is not enough; "what leads to money and power is education and the ability to make money apart from sex."

It is not an easy goal to achieve. Many women fear it; they want to have their cigarettes lit and their car doors opened for them. Far more seriously, they are afraid that, as working mothers, they simply would not be able to give their children the necessary personal care and attention. Ann Richardson Roiphe, a novelist with five children, worries about the de-emphasis of the family. She has written: "These days I feel a cultural pressure not to be absorbed in my child. Am I a Mrs. Portnoy sitting on the head of her little Alex? I am made to feel my curiosity about the growth of my babies is somehow counter-revolutionary. The new tolerance should ultimately respect the lady who wants to make pies, as well as the one who majors in higher mathematics."

Utopian. In a sense, if the feminist revolution simply wanted to exchange one ruling class for another, if it aimed at outright female domination (a situation that has occurred in science fiction and other fantasies), the goal would be easier to visualize. The demand for equality, not domination, is immensely complicated. True equality between autonomous partners is hard to achieve even if both partners are of the same sex. The careful balancing of roles and obligations and privileges, without the traditional patterns to fall back on, sometimes seems like an almost utopian vision.

While nearly everyone favors some of the basic goals of the New Feminism—equal pay for equal work, equal job opportunity, equal treatment by the law—satisfying even those minimum demands could require more wrenching change than many casual sympathizers with the women's cause have seriously considered. Should women be drafted? Ought protective legislation about women's hours and working conditions be repealed?

Still, American women cannot be forced back into the Doll's House. More and more, American women will be free to broaden their lives beyond domesticity by a fuller use of their abilities; there will be fewer diapers and more Dante. Anatomy is destiny, the Freudians say. It is an observation that can hardly be dismissed as mere male chauvinist propaganda, but it is simply no longer sufficient. The destiny of women and, indeed, of men, is broader, more difficult than that—and also more promising.

A Gallery of American Women

Since time immemorial poets and novelists have celebrated the diversity of woman, and U.S. society provides as varied an opportunity for richly individual life-styles and attitudes as any the world has known. Here are nine portraits of contemporary U.S. women and their views on why they live and work and love as they do. They do not, of course, begin to exhaust the possibilities, but they do indicate the range at a time of questioning of familiar roles and traditional assumptions.

Marcia Heuber's world is one of seasons and crops, dawn-to-dusk farm chores, the kitchen and children in a rambling farmhouse near Malta, Ill. She gets up at 4:30 a.m. most of the year, and by 10 a.m. she has prepared breakfast for her husband and four children, fed and watered the chickens, and washed the first of three loads of laundry. Then she puts in a full day in the fields, helping to sort pigs and cattle, unloading hay bales and gathering the six dozen eggs she sells daily. She drives a tractor, spreads manure, fills silos and hauls in grain. It is hard work, and Marcia, 34, loves every minute of it. It annoys her no end, she says, that "although there is no doubt in my mind that women in farming are among America's greatest career women, I'm considered an unemployed housewife."

Marcia insists that she is doing just what she had always wanted to do. She grew up just four miles south of her present home, and cheerfully admits that when she was in high school "my biggest goal was to get married." She married Roger Heuber shortly after they graduated from high school, had her first son a year later. Together she and Roger worked the farm and slowly began buying it from Roger's father. "I started helping with the chores no matter what the weather," she recalls. While she works as hard as her husband and handles the household accounts, she has no doubts about where she stands in relation to Roger. "I still feel the male sex should be dominant," she says firmly. "I want my husband to feel he is the head of the household. We decide things together, but I think the final word should mostly be his."

Marcia also finds time to be one of the most active women in the community, teaching Sunday school, playing the church organ, working for the P.T.A. She conducts intense sessions with her high-school-level church classes on the war (which she hates) and abortion on demand (which she decidedly favors). She is deeply proud of the life she has carved for herself out of the rich Midwestern soil. "I'm still not sorry I don't have a college

education," she says. "Being married and having a family were the most important things for me. I'm very happy with my profession."

Lynn Young is 33, attractive, unmarried—and likes it that way. "I'd rather grow old alone than with some old creep," she says. "What's the point in marrying just not to be lonely when you are old. When the children have grown up you just look at each other and get bored."

A medical illustrator who makes an average of \$20,000 a year, Lynn lives in a handsome house in Sausalito overlooking San Francisco Bay. Her work makes home little more than a *piet-a-terre*. She flies all over California and sometimes beyond, doing sketches for malpractice or insurance cases, like a drawing showing how an accident destroyed the vein structure in a crushed foot. She recently flew to India to observe surgical methods there. Then she made the same sort of trip to Japan and managed to squeeze in a side visit to the Olympics. "I'd rather go off by myself," she says, "than drag along some warm body I'm not interested in."

Lynn decided on her unusual field even before her college years at Berkeley. "I wanted to be a surgeon," she admits, "but a friend at Stanford medical school discouraged me. He showed me how tough medicine is for a woman." So she added two years of art and medical-school training and took over the small medical art department

at Berkeley. She then tried marriage to her high school boy friend. It lasted for three years. As Lynn puts it: "I got tired of our coming home from a day of sailing and finding we were looking at each other with that empty 'what next?' feeling."

While she sees several men regularly, Lynn is also wont to go out unescorted with married couples and never feels the least pressure to remarry. Says she: "I've come close a couple of times, but there simply aren't that many marriages I envy. A lot of women are just hanging in there for



Right: Lynn Young works over her drafting table. Below: Marcia Heuber tends the chickens on the Illinois farm she and her husband run.





Above: Eleanor Driver enjoys the solitude of her houseboat. Left: Janet Sue Epperson takes a brief coffee break from her executive-banking chores.

the security, but that's a dumb reason to get married. As for children, I'm too much of a perfectionist to put up with them. I'd be a rotten mother."

Janet Sue Epperson's workday begins with a thorough reading of the *Wall Street Journal*. As a trust officer of the City National Bank and Trust Co. of Kansas City, Mo., Janet is only too aware that her good looks will not help her if her clients are taking a beating in the stock market. They rarely do; in the six years since she graduated from the University of Kansas, Janet has become one of the most respected bankers in Kansas City. "It's an ideal industry for a woman," she says. "You either make money for people or you don't. All you have to sell is your performance."

Still, Janet would probably shuck it all for marriage and family. Indeed, it seems odd to her friends that Janet, who will be 29 next month and has been engaged several times, has not been married by now. Looking remarkably like Dinah Shore, as a high school senior she was elected Most Likely to Settle Down and Start a Family. "I guess that changed in college," she says. "Suddenly other challenges popped up." Now she has done so well that her career seems to hurt her chances for marriage. She points

out that a number of men look at her apparently successful social and professional life and are afraid to enter the fray. On the other hand, she is more choosy, too. "Now, if a relationship doesn't look worth it, I just don't waste my time."

The daughter of a retired Air Force officer, Janet is politically conservative and has little use for the basic goals of Women's Lib. She thinks equal pay for equal work is a non-issue. "Maybe most women don't work as hard as men do. I encounter more frustrated men than I do women in the course of a day. Everyone has his pay gripes, men as much as women, and just as legitimately so." Her solution for women's economic ambitions? "Pick a growing industry where everyone is overworked."

"I used to call my husband 'A. B.'—arrogant bastard," says Eleanor Driver. "And he was, but he was strong and dominant, and I liked that. But as the kids grew older and moved out, I got bored and depressed with Bill. He worked six days a week and brought home a briefcase every night. I kept talking about going back to school until finally Bill said, 'Quit talking about it and do it.' A little later on when the university offered me a job he said, 'Go ahead—but I want my socks washed.' Six months later he died of a heart attack."

That was seven years ago. Today Eleanor, 53, mother of five grown sons, barely has time to wash her own socks. The director of Oakland University's Continuum Center in Rochester, Mich., she spends five days or more a week helping men and women define their roles in a program called Investigation into Identity. "My life is so different now, I don't be-

lieve it," she says. Neither do some of her old "uptight friends" who cannot understand why she moved out of her home in a fashionable Detroit suburb to live alone on a 43-ft houseboat on Lake St. Clair. Eleanor's answer is simple and straight to the point: "I don't want a conventional old age."

Her investigation into her identity was one of gradual awakening. "When Bill died," she explains, "I was a gloved, girdled and hatted upper-middle-class mamma. There was no need to work, but I could not tolerate sitting in that house being the 'widow of . . . ' or the 'mother of . . . ' What it finally came down to was the whole thing of being a person. I wanted to make it on my own. That's not to say that I was a leader in Women's Liberation. The whole atmosphere of the movement was almost forced on me. I didn't go looking for it. I remember saying women don't want Women's Liberation, they want to be loved. But when I started working at the center, I realized what a bill of goods is sold to women."

Eleanor resumed an active social life three years ago, but she has no plans to remarry. "I'm not against marriage," she says. "I'm against what marriage does to people—that kind of ownership that two people put on each other. That's what is so exciting about these times. No one has to be locked in. It's fun not to worry about what people are thinking, or to have to conform to patterns. Feeling useful—outside of the family—that's what the movement is about. I've lucked out on Women's Liberation."

Janie Cottrell, 24, sank into her sofa in a pair of dark blue hot pants, crossed her showgirl legs and said, "I wanted to be a certified welder more than anything in the world." Which is just what she is. Janie graduated from Robert F. Lee Institute in Thomaston, Ga., in 1965, decided to enroll in a business course at the local vocational school. "I didn't like any of it," she says, "especially the charm course. One day in the cafeteria the welding teacher walked by and said, 'What's the matter? You look like you've lost your last friend.' When I told him how bored I was, he invited me to welding class. I was excited by all that fire and light, so I enrolled in the class."

Janie was heartened by her instructor's insistence that he had taught women to weld during the war and that for some reason they made better welders than men. Naturally she had her problems. "One day I was welding with loafers on, and a spark went down into my shoes. I had to stick my foot into a nearby bucket of water. After that I wore boots with

Kleenex stuck into the toes. They're awfully ugly, but they really protect you." Janie also mastered blueprint reading and mathematics, but when she applied for a job with an aluminum company in Newnan, she was greeted with the predictable, "Are you serious?" She talked her way into a job, for which she had to commute 110 miles a day. That forced her to quit after a year, but she remembers with pride. "When I left, the company vice president said I was probably the best aluminum welder he had ever employed."

She had trouble finding another welding job, so she countered male reluctance with extreme measures. "This Women's Liberation thing was starting up then, and I just called Governor Maddox and asked him why I couldn't get a job if I was a qualified welder." The state labor department quickly arranged an interview with Scientific Atlanta, Inc., where Janie has worked for three years. She was such an attraction at the plant that the company provided her with curtains to hang around her station. After work she loves Atlanta night life, and her apartment is handsomely decorated with aluminum and steel designs created with her blowtorch.

As a child in Suffolk, Va., Betty Jackson had dreams of being a singer or a nurse and, some day, a wife. Instead, at 15 she had an illegitimate child and that, coupled with the death of her mother, was "the end of my hopes." Migrating to New York City in 1960, she worked for four years as a live-in maid until another pregnancy caused her to lose her job. She has been on welfare ever since.

Presently living in a four-room ghetto apartment in The Bronx with four of her seven illegitimate children, Betty Jackson says, "I live in dope city and on one of the worst streets. The apartment has been robbed three

times, and I've been cut once. We have no heat. We get hot water once in a while. The wall is coming apart from the leaks. I've had a broken window for the past year. The kids sleep in their clothes. I use the stove and oven for heat, but the gas and electricity bills are very high. I had an electric heater once, but it was stolen. Roaches are everywhere. The rats midget and waltz around the floor."

While welfare pays her monthly rent of \$92.10, she says that the additional \$128 she receives twice a month barely allows for the necessities, much less such luxuries as a telephone, radio, TV or vacuum cleaner. "I am a slave to my financial problems," she says, "and my life is meaningless as far as having things that people are supposed to have."

Now 36, she says of the three men who sired her children that "I have never come close to getting married." Though she has had a tubal ligation to prevent further pregnancies, the pattern remains. She says that whatever hopes she had of returning to work were dashed when her 19-year-old daughter gave birth to an illegitimate child two weeks ago. Survival, she explains, is her primary concern. Women's Lib? "I'm not interested." Religion? "I don't go to church. They're robbers. I can pray at home, and He'll hear me just the same, and I don't have to pay for it." Politics? "I have no hope in elections. I've written to Nixon, Rockefeller and Lindsay. They all say they can't do anything. I don't trust nobody." The future? "If things don't shape up, my children won't live for it. Society will kill them and put them in

bondage too, and they won't be able to move either." Summing up her plight, Betty Jackson says: "I just need some place to survive. I'm being crazied up in this Establishment."

Five months ago, Norine O'Callaghan and her husband John, a milkman, made the last payment on their 18-year, \$25,000 house mortgage. It was not, however, a cause for rejoicing. In recent years the O'Callaghans' neighborhood, a former Irish Catholic enclave on Chicago's South Side, has been in a state of flux due to the incursion of black homeowners. Rather than pull up stakes, the O'Callaghans chose to stay on, and are now one of the last white families on their side of the street. For Norine O'Callaghan, a plumpish, red-haired housewife of 46, the influx of blacks is not a calamity but a challenge "to get out of the house and work for something you think matters." The president of her black association, she explains: "It blacks move in, you've got to get



Below: Betty Jackson and some of her children in their ghetto apartment. Right: Norine O'Callaghan and some of her children round their kitchen table. Lower right: Welder Janie Contrell on the assembly line.





Above: Career Girl Suzanne Sope waters chive plant in her kitchen. Right: Lauretta Galligan relaxes in her suburban Boston living room.

to know them too. That's the whole idea, to break down the fear of not knowing. How can you get to know someone if you run away?"

More than a cause, her outside work is also a form of therapy. "I'm a very happy, contented person," she says. "I love being the way I am. But it's not that I haven't had burdens and hard knocks." Of the seven children she bore, one died at the age of 16, another is mentally retarded and institutionalized. Active in church and school work, she believes that "women need something besides kids. There's nothing more boring than women who talk about their babies, diapers and what they fix for dinner. If I couldn't get away, I know I'd end up in the nut house." Though she is against abortion ("It's murder") and worries that some mothers use day-care centers as a substitute for child rearing, she is in sympathy with most of the aims of Women's Lib. Her one reservation is that "in order to get into the system, a woman has to become like a man and is, therefore, probably no better."

To charges that the black associations are racist, Norine answers that her sole aim is to stop black hustling rather than prevent black families from moving in. She is quick to quash rumors of a black takeover, and has made the rounds of the real estate offices to demand a halt to scare tactics. Still, surrounded by more complainers than does like herself, she wonders how long she can hold out.

She suspects that "next summer, when my kids go out to play, they will have all black playmates. That's going too far in the other direction, it seems to me."

"Why should I have children?" asks Suzanne Sope, 23, who is happily married and upward bound in a management-planning career. "It isn't an automatic presumption—unless you accept the male-female roles generically." Suzanne clearly does not.

For almost three years Suzanne has worked in the Internal Revenue



Service, and is now deeply engrossed in management development, planning programs to train supervisors. She makes \$13,309 a year and is studying for her Master's degree at George Washington University three nights a week. She and her husband George, a lawyer with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, enjoy such traditional young marrieds' projects as refinishing furniture and painting a mural on the bedroom wall of their modest walk-up apartment in Arlington, Va. "I'm glad I'm married," Suzanne says, "and I enjoy being feminine. I like to sew, and I was once really interested in fashion."

But Suzanne's bent toward homemaking and shared joys does not extend to having children. "If I were to conceive," she says frankly, "I would have an abortion. I like children very much. I consider it an enormous challenge to raise them the way they should be raised. It takes an awful lot of time and energy and intellect to raise them to cope with the problems of a pretty crummy world. But I would rather deal with life directly than through

a child." Suzanne has talked with doctors about sterilization, but has reached the conclusion that she does not want to risk the possible physical and psychological side effects. Nor does she want her husband to be sterilized, since he might some day want a child.

Suzanne considers herself an aggressive feminist, and works hard for the newly organized Women's Legal Defense Fund. She says that the concept of zero population growth is important to her, but she acknowledges that her decision is much more personal. "If you are a career woman, how can you bring the child up?" she asks. "If a woman has a child, it should be a full-time occupation for at least the first year, perhaps two or three. Three years is an awful big bite out of a career, and I've spent a long time preparing for my career."

Soon after her marriage in 1944, Lauretta Galligan found herself alone most of the time when her husband's company assigned him a job that kept him away from home six days a week. To make friends and keep busy, Lauretta joined the women's auxiliaries of her husband's two alma maters and attended night school. As her household expanded to include five sons, she dropped her outside interests to spend more time at home, "making sure everyone is going in the right direction."

This might seem like indentured housewifery to some women, but not to Lauretta Galligan, who at 52 still rises at 6:30 to prepare her husband's breakfast and get the two sons remaining at home off to school. She smiles happily when her husband Thomas, who is now president of Boston Edison Co., calls her his "greatest asset."

Lauretta is not anti-Women's Lib. She believes in equal rights and equal pay, and that women should be well represented in big corporations, on boards of directors and in industry, "particularly when it comes to designing." She also believes that day-care centers are inevitable. But of her own life-style she says: "My first priority is my family and my husband's work, and then I work on other things."

Lauretta never plays bridge and only occasionally goes to fashion shows or luncheons. Most of her social life revolves around her husband's business. When visiting executives bring their wives to town, she takes them sightseeing; she also goes to business dinners with her husband and entertains groups at home at least three times a month.

What if she had her life to live over again? "I don't think I would change any part of it. Being a homemaker and mother is very stimulating. I realize there are many things about homemaking that are a little bit monotonous, but a lot of things about a woman's career or a man's career can be monotonous too."

Women's Liberation Revisited

The New Feminism is a cultural, social and psychological phenomenon. Women's Liberation, "the movement," is its visible, articulate and activist manifestation. A look at the organizations, aims, difficulties and range of opinions that help make up Women's Liberation in all its diverse forms:

ORGANIZATIONS. Women's Liberation formally began with the founding in 1966 of the National Organization for Women, which remains the largest and most influential movement group, the original umbrella under which other groups pressed their individual programs. Its membership has doubled to 18,000 in the past year; around 255 chapters now exist in 48 states. N.O.W. has led assaults in Congress and the courts on issues ranging from child care to abortion reform. Growing even faster is the National Women's Political Caucus, aimed at putting more levers of government power into female hands (see following story). There is also the Women's Equity Action League, dedicated to pushing for equality via existing laws and executive orders.

On the local level, the movement flourishes in eclectic profusion. Los Angeles boasts 100 women's groups working on issues as broad as hiring practices and as narrow as do-it-yourself auto-repair classes. Washington, D.C., has women's lobbies on Capitol Hill and in other parts of the federal bureaucracy. In New York City and other major urban areas, women's health clinics offer counseling, referral and care free of charge or at nominal fees. Self-help medical techniques, including pelvic examinations and Pap smears to detect uterine cancer, are being devised; male chauvinism, feminists argue, is most humiliating when encountered in an unsympathetic or uncaring doctor.

For all this purposeful activity, the heart of the Women's Liberation movement consists of small groups of women meeting informally to discuss shared problems. Consciousness-raising or rap groups are the recruiting ground of the movement. Says Chicago Feminist Jo Freeman: "The rap group is what the factory was for the workers, the church for the Southern civil rights movement and the campus for the student." Most of the groups are formed, meet for a while and are disbanded, with no one outside the principals—not even organized feminist groups—aware of their existence. Yet it is in the catharsis of consciousness raising that most women find their identification with Women's Liberation.

AIMS. The goals of the movement range from the modest, sensible amelioration of the female condition to extreme and revolutionary visions. The

first camp includes the likes of Betty Friedan and emphasizes a more egalitarian society: equal pay for equal work, a nation in which women are not blocked from access to education, political influence and economic power. Items on the immediate agenda:

► Sterner enforcement of the equal employment provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. When the bill was before Congress, a Southern opponent frivolously added sex to the standard list of race-creed-color conditions for which no one could be denied a job. Pressure from women's groups led the Government to issue guidelines prohibiting the use of "Help Wanted—Male" and "Help Wanted—Female" rubrics in the classified advertising sections of the nation's newspapers. However, women's rights advocates have found their greatest leverage against employment discrimination in the enforcement of executive orders. Under a 1967 order, federal funds can be cut off to contractors and subcontractors that discriminate in hiring and promoting women. Since most concerns of any size do business with the Government or have a subsidiary that does, federal authorities have a stout stick.

While enforcement of the order in private industry has been uncoordinated and spotty so far, colleges and universities have come under an orchestrated attack that threatens the future of federally funded programs on campus. Complaints against 300 colleges that receive federal aid have been filed by women's groups. Columbia University stands to lose \$13.8 million in Government grants; the University of Michigan had \$1,000,000 in federal moneys held up because of discriminatory practices.

► **Child Care.** Late last year President Nixon vetoed a bill that would have begun federal support for a comprehensive system of child-care centers at an initial cost of \$2.1 billion. Though part of the cost would be borne by families that can afford it, knowledgeable estimates have it that such a plan could eventually cost more than \$30 billion a year—a stunning addition to an already swollen federal budget. Nevertheless, if mothers, including those now on welfare, are to compete



WOMEN'S LIB MARCH IN 1970

FIFTH AVENUE PROTEST DISPLAY



POLITICAL CAUCUS ROAST PIG
The levers of power.

THE NATION

freely with men for jobs, they must be able to leave their children somewhere—at a reasonable cost—while they work.

The more radical wing of the movement would not be content, however, with such prosaic gains. They call for a drastic revision of society in general. In their view, the sexual roles must be redefined so as to free both sexes from the stereotypes and responsibilities that have existed for ages. The concept of man as hunter and woman as keeper of the hearth, these feminists declare, is obsolete and destructive for both sexes. It is not enough simply to share these roles without removing the pressures and drives that men now bear. To do so would merely give women, as well as men, heart attacks and ulcers. Hence the argument for freer, less rigidly defined lives for all.

On its most radical level, the New Feminism at times seems to constitute an assault—sometimes thoughtful, sometimes emotional and foolish—not just on society but on the limitations of biology. Some argue that through the science of eugenics, the genetic code could be altered to produce a different kind of man and woman. Short of that, the extremists demand a complete withdrawal from dependence on men, including sexual ties. *Village Voice* Columnist Jill Johnston, for example, insists that "feminism is lesbianism" and that it is only when women do not rely upon men to fulfill their sexual needs that they are finally free of masculine control. On this plane, the reproductive imperative of sexuality is defied; to refuse all association with men is to allow dogma to obstruct any possibility of pragmatic reform.

DIFFICULTIES. For all its obvious gains and growth, the movement has its troubles. In part the problems are caused by the extreme positions that are taken by only a few feminists but which are often used against the movement as a whole. The issue of lesbianism, for example, has hurt the movement. Says one N.O.W. official: "I have heard a woman called Communist, radical, bitchy, everything—and she can take it. But if anyone so much as breathes the word lesbian at her, she goes to pieces." During the 1970 Women's Strike for Equality that marked the 50th anniversary of women's suffrage, the issue of lesbianism burst into the open. Some feminist leaders, warned that the participation of lesbians would overshadow other issues, tried to downplay the controversial subject during the marches and rallies. A quiet, often bitter debate followed; the result was a declaration from N.O.W. and tacit agreement by local groups that freedom of sexual orientation was a humanist concern and therefore could not be ignored by Women's Liberation. Nonetheless, lesbianism has been called the lavender herring of Women's Liberation.

Then there is the hostility of men, often veiled, on occasion brutally frank. Says one Los Angeles feminist: "For some women, getting involved in the movement may be an irreversible process. There is no turning back for many of them, and if their marriages are bad to begin with, they sometimes crack up. I feel like warning women their lives are going to change and there may be prices to pay."

Another problem is the hostility of women. Secure and happy in their traditional roles, many reject any drastic change in their status. They also resent what they regard as a kind of propaganda designed to either force them into more active lives or make them feel guilty about staying home. But the organized female resistance to the movement has been largely frivolous: MOM (for Men Our Masters), started by a Manhattan secretary, and

the house. We feel it is now up to us to help our men more, to enhance their manhood."

There are other opinions, however. Black women are the lowest-paid members of the work force; a black man with an eighth-grade education has a higher median income than a black woman with some college education. Los Angeles Black Activist Althea Scott says, "White women liberationists talk about the difficulties of getting into graduate or professional school. We talk about getting jobs in the five and ten. We're on the nitty-gritty level. Just let black women struggle at their own rate. They'll see they are women." Spanish-speaking women are also somewhat alienated from Women's Liberation. Most, staunchly Catholic, reject movement policy on birth control and abortion, and Latin *machismo* is another stumbling block.

SAVIO GILBERT / CAMERA 5



ROBIN MORGAN (RIGHT) AT MANHATTAN WOMEN'S KARATE CLASS

its men's auxiliary WOW (for Women Our Wonders); and the Pussycat League, with its slogan "The lamb chop is mightier than the karate chop." More serious criticism has come from Ti-Grace Atkinson, an early theorist of the New Feminism who withdrew from the movement more than a year ago. Says Atkinson: "There is no movement. Movement means going some place, and the movement is not going anywhere. It hasn't accomplished anything."

Opposition also comes from minority-group women, who often characterize Women's Lib as oriented toward white, middle-class professional women. Among black women, a debate has long raged over priorities: black liberation before women's liberation. Others have argued that it is necessary to reconstruct black family life first. Says a Houston woman: "Within the black community, most of the women are working both financially and emotionally to bolster their men. Black women want to unliberate themselves from the role as head of

AUTHOR SUSAN BROWNMILLER





TI-GRACE ATKINSON AT MEETING



as prostitution, argues University of Michigan Psychologist Joseph Adelson, "denies tacitly our contemporary conception of female sexuality, one that sees it as mutual, in that the woman seeks as much as she gives." In these instances, Adelson says, Women's Lib returns to "the dark world of Victorian pornography."

Adelson also takes issue with the wing of the movement that often equates male sexuality with rape—sometimes seeing rape symbolically as the distillation of the normal male sexual attitude. Says Adelson: "As any



SPOKESWOMAN GLORIA STEINEM
Devastating remarks.

clinician knows, these days the problem in male sexuality lies in the opposite direction, not in phallic megalomania but rather in sexual diffidence and self-doubt."

VIEWS. In a movement that has sought to avoid leaders, some women have become, more or less willingly, the articulators of the new militant consciousness. Among them are Gloria Steinem, founder of the new feminist magazine *Ms.*, who in speeches and meetings is one of the movement's most effective proselytizers; Susan Brownmiller, an author who has organized conferences on rape and prostitution; and Robin Morgan, a radical feminist who has spent the past six months speaking at rallies. In recent interviews with *TIME*'s B.J. Phillips, they discussed their current concern:

GLORIA STEINEM: "In terms of real power—economic and political—we are still just beginning. But the consciousness, the awareness—that will never be the same. When we go to a town to speak, we usually spend three or four hours looking for the local issues: What's the name of the company in town that refuses to hire or promote women? How many women on the faculty? Who is the politician who has stood in the way of a child-care center? Since we go out on the next morning's plane, we tell the local women we can run some of their risks on a kind of take-names-and-kick-ass basis.

"It's an emotional experience. It doesn't seem to matter what you say as long as you're talking about the lives of women. The response is women standing up applauding with tears running down their cheeks. Then the questions start: How? How do I get a job, get a lawyer, get my husband to understand what I really feel, get courage? The hostility I get from men, saying that all I need is a good f--- or a good beating—always some kind of conquest—or I must be a lesbian. And the lascivious part: the personally devastating things that people will just walk up to you and say, Even male politicians don't get the kind of viciousness that women get as routine. It is like being gang-banged in public. But it has been worth it because of something great out there, not just the pain and anger. Women are learning to respect and love themselves and each other, and there is a lot of joy and communion in knowing them."

SUSAN BROWN MILLER: "We are convinced that rape is a political crime and can be eradicated like lynching. We have the power to eradicate it, but that won't be done until it is understood not as deviant behavior but as the logical result of sexism. The left can't get over its old view of rape as a hysterical white woman accusing a black man. The left says that all prisoners are political prisoners who are there because they want a piece of society: what they think is their piece of society is a part of our bodies. That person is no political prisoner, he's a criminal."

"The divisions between us and the left are going to get wider and wider over these issues. There's a lot of talk going around that radicalism is in decline, things have cooled, gone conservative. But the truth is that all the women have left for Women's Liberation, and they're not there typing and filing and running the mimeograph for Abbie and Jerry."

ROBIN MORGAN: "Radical feminism is digging in for the long haul, trying to build on women's needs in terms of women's anger. The Midwest is ahead of both coasts on this. The movement there is growing very organically and logically and strongly. The new assault is on the Catholic church. We are trying to separate an individual's faith from this corporation that has so oppressed women. The support from Catholic women is very strong as long as it is the institution, not the faith, that they understand is the problem."

"But I see the beginnings of repression, of backlash. Three places where I have spoken in the last four months there have been bomb scares. A fire bomb was thrown at my car in Michigan; two cars tried to force me off the road in Florida—and I had my baby with me. Still, when a middle-aged woman in Illinois gets up and says we have to seize the genetic code, something's happening!"

Says Chicana Leader Cecilia Suarez: "Our issues are bread-and-butter ones: Women's Lib is trying to get equal job opportunities, but we are still trying to get our women into school. We have special problems. For example, our meetings have to be in the daytime, because the average Spanish-speaking husband won't let his wife come out at night." Nonetheless, minority participation in the movement has grown in recent months.

An entrenched group of women that is having none of Women's Liberation rhetoric is prostitutes. One failure that feminists admit was an encounter session with some New York City prostitutes. Says Susan Brownmiller: "It knocked us out for a month; we walked around reeling. No active prostitute will ever take a feminist line. She can't and still work. When she speaks, she's speaking from the man's plantation."

Nor have feminists got much mileage out of efforts to equate the marital bed with cultural prostitution. To characterize the married woman's life

The New Feminism on Main Street

How far, how deep run the currents of women's new consciousness in the U.S.? TIME Reporter-Researcher Marguerite Michaels visited Red Oak, Iowa. Her report:

RED OAK lies in the furrowed hills of southwestern Iowa, a farming and industrial community of 6,210 people, 19 churches, five public parks and two nursing homes. It has the third largest swimming pool in the state and boasts a Holiday Inn. As in most small towns, the social geography follows the contour of the land. In Red Oak, the rigid distinctions between "The Hill" and "The Flats" have just begun to be blurred by the

center; in practice, a child-care center opened last year—and soon closed for lack of customers.

In Red Oak, "this Women's Lib thing" filters in through television and newspapers. The library has copies of Simone de Beauvoir's *Second Sex* and Betty Friedan's *Feminine Mystique* on its shelves, but not Kate Millet's *Sexual Politics* or Germaine Greer's *The Female Eunuch*. The crisp explanation from Librarian Jeannette Winter: "I'll get them as soon as three people ask for them."

Among the library's likely customers are women of disparate interests and backgrounds: young wives, working women, farm women, members of

Forays into Democratic politics—including an unsuccessful race for the state legislature—sparked her feminism. Says she: "The women's movement has made me more content with my lot. I know I'm not the only one who's complaining; I'm not nuts." Norma Johnson, 37, shares the frustration over the banality of small-town social life with Sinclair Lewis' *Main Street* rebel, Carol Kennicott. She has spent eight years in night classes working toward her bachelor's and master's degrees. "I got to be age 30 and thought, 'Is this all there is—the bridge and socials and on and on?' I went back to school. I got a lot of cracks from the neighbors. They'd say, 'And what are you going to do with your children while you go to school?' I told one lady, 'Why, of course, I'm going to neglect them.' That stopped the conversation."

Mr. and Mrs. Ross Davis are perhaps typical of the resistance to Women's Lib in Red Oak by both men and women. "When my husband married me he said, 'I'm Ross the Boss and don't ever forget it,'" says Mrs. Davis. Insurance Salesman Ross Davis adds: "I believe in Women's Liberation. I think my wife should do whatever she wants—as long as she asks my permission." Many Red Oak women agree with Doctor's Wife Jane Smith: "A woman's place is in the home taking care of her children. If a woman gets bored with the housework, there are plenty of organizations she can join."



JANE SMITH ENTERTAINS FRIENDS AT BRIDGE IN RED OAK, IOWA

subdivisions housing the middle-class managers of the new industries.

Mention the words "Women's Liberation" and the reaction is immediately negative. Said one woman: "That means you're waving the red flag of liberalism." Still, the new consciousness has touched the town, perhaps changed it slightly. The Union Carbide factory has opened all its job categories to women. When the men gather over their coffee in the doughnut shop on the square, they no longer criticize married women for working. Retired Assistant Postmaster Gordon Will notes: "They used to say, 'What does she think she's doing out of the house?' You don't hear them talk like that any more." Though there is little feminist rhetoric in Red Oak, issues are discussed in the bridge clubs and beauty parlors. Few women said they opposed abortion; equal pay for equal work is an accepted axiom. In principle, most women say they would send their children to a good day-care

center. The Red Oak aristocracy. The largest group of feminists is made up of young wives and mothers. Some are outspoken, by Red Oak standards. Debbie Bulkeley, 30, flatly states: "I identify with Women's Lib. I watch one of those women on Johnny Carson and I think, 'That's me.' Then I get up the next day, feed the kids and clean house and it wears off. Still it makes me so mad to be always Mrs. Richard Bulkeley. I don't have a first name of my own. I'm a person too. I wouldn't want to be called Women's Lib. though. That's going too far." One woman reports snubs from neighbors for expressing similar feminist viewpoints.

Red Oak's only card-carrying feminist is N.O.W. Member Elizabeth Richards, 59. A Radcliffe graduate, the wife of a lawyer and a member of one of Red Oak's oldest, wealthiest families, she joined N.O.W. "as soon as they opened up their membership."

A few miles outside Red Oak, Connie Bolton, 39, laughs about Women's Liberation: "I'm in partnership with my husband." The Boltons run a 160-acre farm together. "I can't imagine getting a job somewhere. Every time I leave home, some of the animals get out. Who do you think chases them? The liberated woman." Charlotte Lamb, 34, a divorcee, was supporting her two sons by working as a secretary. Last month she was promoted to personnel manager. Only one man congratulated her; others made derogatory remarks. Says Lamb: "I hope I never go through a day like that again. I didn't expect that kind of reaction. I was so depressed."

Feminism's future in Red Oak lies, of course, in its women of the future. High School Senior Rachel Hays is a cheerleader, and in Red Oak, cheerleaders—once the *summa* of girlish status—are becoming passé. Says Rachel: "They're having trouble scraping up enough girls in the class behind us." Her goal: "I think what I'd really like is to marry a millionaire." She is quickly corrected by Sarah McKenzie, a member of the junior class that has failed to produce enough cheerleaders: "Don't say 'I'm going to marry a millionaire.' Be one. Say 'I'm going to be a millionaire.'"

POLITICS

Toward Female Power at the Polls

NO trouble spotting Bella Abzug, beaming belligerently from under her familiar hat. Or Gloria Steinem in her granny glasses and jeans. But who was that lady in fluttering chiffon who looked as if she might have walked in from another era? None other than Lenore Romney, wife of George Romney, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. She quickly made it clear that she was very much a part of the scene. She told the women in the audience to get hip to politics. She cracked an antisexist joke: "After God created Adam, he looked him over and said: 'I think with my second chance I can do better.'" She concluded with a rousing "Right on!"

The scene was last month's fund raiser in Washington for the National Women's Political Caucus. The caucus is a serious nationwide effort to get women involved full time in politics. Headquartered in Washington, the caucus has established branches in 46 states and has been holding well-attended regional workshops in political techniques. Its motto: "Women! Make policy not coffee." Or, to reverse a man's metaphor: if you can stand the heat, get out of the kitchen.

The first order of business is to get as many women as possible elected, or selected, as delegates to the Democratic and Republican National Conventions. Democratic Party reform gave women an opportunity by calling for fair representation of all groups within the party. If at least half the delegate spots do not go to women, the caucus threatens to challenge the offending state delegations. Presidential candidates have been scrambling to put more women on their slates, and in some cases begging for them. Less committed to internal party reform, Republicans have not shown the same alacrity; but President Nixon, at least, is well aware of feminine voting power. His re-election campaign will include four regional women's meetings at which Pat Nixon, Mrs. Spiro T. Agnew or Mrs. Martha Mitchell will speak.

The caucus is strictly bipartisan. Says Democrat Steinem: "I get along much better with female Republicans than I do with Larry O'Brien. I will go anywhere to work for a Republican woman running for office—or if it would help more, I would not go." While the caucus has its share of familiar liberationists like Betty Friedan, it also includes Liz Carpenter, the tart-

tongued Texan who used to be Lady Bird Johnson's press secretary; Businesswoman Virginia Allan, who served as chairman of President Nixon's task force on women's rights; and former Republican National Committeewoman Elly Peterson, her party's candidate for Michigan Senator eight years ago. The members of the caucus have little in common but their sex and a determination to raise its standing in American politics.

Beyond the immediate delegate hunt, the caucus has been lobbying hard on Capitol Hill. It helped persuade Congress to pass a national program of day care, though the bill was vetoed by the President. It is fervently backing the Equal Rights amendment, which bans discrimination based on sex. The measure, which has passed the House, will probably come to a vote in the Senate this month. Senator Sam Ervin, who opposes the amendment as superfluous, recently told a meeting of the National Council of Jewish Women: "God could not be everywhere, so he made mothers." For its part, the Women's Caucus is backing a mother, Business Executive Martha McKay,

who plans to run against Ervin in North Carolina in 1974. Ultimately, the caucus wants mothers—or women of any kind—running for office everywhere, though this will take time and education, as the caucus admits.

While the caucus hopes to promote a new political force of acutely aware women, American politics has a way of absorbing one-issue movements. There is too much else at stake in politics. Already, the Women's Political Caucus in Manhattan has begun to split into any number of sisterhoods under the pressure of competing interests. Caucuses have been formed within caucuses. Various ethnic groups have taken turns packing meetings to get their own people elected and others eliminated. A Dominican woman recently complained that the white liberals were siding with blacks against the browns.

Even Whim. Traditionally, too, American women have rarely engaged in politics on behalf of their own sex. Analysis of voting patterns over the years shows that there is nothing readily definable as the women's vote. American women, in fact, cast their ballot much like American men. More important than sex in determining how they will vote are education, class, ethnic background, race, religion or even whim. As Herbert Hyman, professor of sociology at Wesleyan University, puts it: "Women are as heterogeneous as mess as anybody could use for an analytical concept."

Some slight differences, however, have been detected in the behavior of the sexes in the voting booth. Women seem to prefer the safe-and-sound candidate, the one least likely to embark on war or some other hazardous undertaking. They are a bit less racially prejudiced when they vote, a bit more internationally minded. Their response to charisma is apparently overrated. Younger women may jump and squeal, older women may gush over a candidate like

John Lindsay; but once they go to vote, they are less susceptible to their emotions. It was not the glamorous ex-PT boat commander, John F. Kennedy, who won the bulk of the women's vote in 1960. More than 50% of women preferred Richard Nixon. "You didn't find the anti-Nixon attitudes among women," says Warren Miller, director of the Center for Political Studies at the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research. "Even strong Democrats didn't refer to him as 'Tricky Dick' or make jokes about the used-car salesman." In 1964, women voted more heavily than men for Lyndon

SHIRLEY CHISHOLM



LENORE ROMNEY



MARTHA GRIFFITHS



THE NATION

Johnson; four years later they chose Nixon over Hubert Humphrey.⁴ Far fewer women than men voted for George Wallace. Depending on one's analysis, the women's vote tends to be more commonsensical or less adventurous.

From these straws, can the Women's Caucus build a political home for women? Its members like to think that the past is not prologue. For the first time since the women's suffrage movement, American male politicians are responding earnestly to women's demands: equal pay for equal work, simplified divorce and abortion, readily available day-care centers. By 1976, enough of a bloc might be formed to tip the balance in a presidential election. But in the long run, it may turn out that, in a sense, woman's place is in the home after all. Voting studies have indicated that anywhere from 75% to 95% of women vote like their husbands: conjugality breeds conformity. That does not mean that their husbands tell them how to vote. Hyman, for one, speculates that it may well be the other way around. As her political consciousness increases, woman may be even more assertive within the household, so long as man remains willing to surrender a share of the political judgment to her. Her greatest political influence may thus fall—as so much of her power already does—within the traditional family.

Madam President

The idea of a woman President has, until recently, always had the humor of improbability. When she was asked in 1952 what she would do if she were one day to wake up in the White House, Maine's Senator Margaret Chase Smith replied: "I'd go straight to Mrs. Truman and apologize. Then I'd go home." Hollywood thought the idea was cute. In 1964's *Kisses for My President*, Politician Polly Bergen is elected and then, domestically enough, has to resign when her husband, Fred MacMurray, gets her pregnant. Yuk yuk yuk.

Eleanor Roosevelt considered the question in 1934 and concluded: "I do not think we have yet reached the point where the majority of our people would feel satisfied to follow the leadership and trust the judgment of a woman as President." Have enough voters reached that point today? Probably not. They don't seem ready for a woman Vice President either. A Field poll last week showed that Californians would be more reluctant to vote for a national ticket that had a woman candidate for Vice President than with a black man in the No. 2 spot. But

⁴ The Institute for Social Research reached this conclusion after conducting a postelection survey of 1,488 voters. A Gallup poll, on the other hand, reported that more women voted for Humphrey.

they may be getting there. Although she stands no chance of election this year, Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, in a sort of double play, is seriously raising the possibility of a President who is not only a woman but a black as well. There will be eight presidential elections between now and the end of the century; the only surprise would be if there were not a woman running for President—or at least Vice President—on a major ticket well before the year 2000.

Given that likelihood, what sort of woman would stand the best chance of getting nominated? The professional requirements would probably be abnormally rigorous for the first woman hopeful, in order to overcome deep laminations of prejudice by female as well as male voters. Doubtless the ide-



MACMURRAY & BERGEN IN "KISSES" No White House formula.

al woman candidate would have held a number of previous public offices, so that her identity in jobs of responsibility and power would be fixed in the public mind. As with Indira Gandhi and Golda Meir, her persona would be politically rather than sexually defined.

Ideally, voters would want the same qualities in a woman as in a man—ability, courage, experience, integrity, intelligence. But with a woman candidate, voter psychology, always unpredictable, would be especially complex.

Should she be married? Would it make any difference? And what would the husband's role be as First Gentleman? Would male voters make uncomfortable jokes about who would be wearing the pants in the White House? Milquetoast or Machiavelli? When Alabamians elected the late Lurleen Wallace Governor in 1966, they knew they were actually voting for George. Presumably Americans would

know their candidates so well that they would not elect a woman whose husband would be the power behind the throne. Of course, there could be no double standard in the White House: axiomatically, Calpurnia's husband must be above reproach.

If a woman were the candidate, she would probably, like most male candidates, be in her 40s or 50s. Her children would already be at least adolescents, thus sparing the nation bulletins from a maternity hospital ("The President and baby are doing well") and jokes about the latest White House formula or diaper pins. It might well be that a cigar-smoking, odds-making computer would opt for a widow as the ideal candidate, since that would remove the husband question yet endow her with a patina of nonthreatening domestic respectability. Throw in a couple of grown children, the computer might add, and let the word out that she loves to cook—on occasion.

Jealousy. What should she look like? What if she were, say, as sexy as John Lindsay, or if, like some male politicians, she trailed a reputation for promiscuity? Mature good looks might help, as with a man. But obviously, as Michigan's Congresswoman Martha Griffiths notes, "you couldn't elect a woman just because she's stunning looking. It is some help, in fact, to a woman politician not to look too attractive. One of the things she cannot arouse is jealousy among other women." And it seems likely that a rumor of philandering would damage a woman far more than it would a man.

Some have argued a bit extravagantly in the past that a woman President would bring the millennium: her explicitly feminine qualities would gentle the militaristic impulse, introduce new compassion to such fields as health care, housing and education, and render government deeply humane. But many theoreticians of Women's Liberation think that that argument carries a sexist seed. Says Gloria Steinem: "The truth probably is that women are not more moral, they are only uncorrupted by power."

The canard about feminine instability would be the greatest handicap. Surgeon Edgar Berman earned a low place in the bestiary of Women's Liberation two years ago when he suggested that because of their hormonal chemistry women might be too emotional for positions of power. Yet despite that reputation—or because of it—women in politics have proved just as stable and sometimes as steely as any man. After all, Edmund Muskie wept publicly during the New Hampshire primary campaign last month. It was Richard Nixon, not his wife Pat, who broke down after he was defeated in the California gubernatorial election in 1962 and said he would not be kicked around any more.



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Cutty Sark vs. Thermopylae.

The most famous clipper race of all time

In the early 1870's, the clipper *Thermopylae* held "the blue ribband," symbol of victory in the incredible tea races that pitted great ships against each other and half the world's oceans. But then came *Cutty Sark*, built solely to beat *Thermopylae*. And in 1872, the two ships met for the first and only time.

On June 17th they cast off from Shanghai together, bound for London. Immediately they were separated by gales. *Cutty* forged far ahead. And then on August 25, a huge sea tore *Cutty's* rudder away. In 6 days of storms, the crew fashioned and fitted a jury rudder. And when it snapped, they made a second rig, this time in only 24 hours. With her speed severely cut by the weak rudder, *Cutty* limped home, docked after *Thermopylae*—yet won the race!

A special maritime board was convened which inspected the logs of both vessels and decided that, based on actual time under sail in equal conditions, *Cutty Sark* had made the faster passage. From that time on, *Cutty* was never beaten in equal competition. Small wonder that, years later, a reporter was to write of the finish of yet another clipper race, "*Cutty Sark* first...the rest, nowhere."



Courtesy private collection of Lt. Col. James M. Humphrey, M.C.



Capt. Moodie,
Cutty's commander
in her most famous race.

Cutty's jury rudder,
seen in drydock.



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PEOPLE

What is it like to be **Jacqueline Onassis**? One aspect of the answer has emerged from the Manhattan court hearing of the cross-suits between her and Photographer Ronald E. Gallella (he wants \$1.3 million for her "interference" with his self-created job of photographing her, and she wants an injunction to keep him 100 yds. away from her). In direct examination, Jackie told of sneaking out back doors and down dark streets in futile attempts to avoid Gallella's "harassing" maneuvers—"grunting" and "lunging" with his camera, "flicking" her on the shoulders with his camera strap, bumping into her while shooting closeups on the street and sometimes reducing her daughter, **Caroline Kennedy**, to tears. Because of Gallella, Jackie testified, she had "no peace, no peace of mind, was always under surveillance, imprisonment in my own house." She further suggested that the photographer's interest may not have been entirely journalistic when she introduced into the evidence a Christmas card from Gallella. It depicted a short Santa apparently giving him money, with the legend: "The Payoff, starring **Aristotle Onassis** as Santa and Ron Gallella as the *Paparazzo*" (Italian slang for freelance photographer).

The marriage that was attended by 35 million viewers of the Johnny Carson *Tonight* show is out of the tulips and onto the rocks. **Miss Vicki** has left **Tiny Tim** and taken ten-month-old **Tulip Victoria** with her. **Miss Vicki** (née Victoria Budinger) plans to pursue a modeling career. And also a male model, says **Tiny Tim** (né Herbert Buckingham Khaury), who is starting action for a legal separation "to get the jump on her." Nonsense, said a spokesman for 19-year-old **Miss Vicki**. "All the fellow was doing was showing her the ropes." However that may be. "The wedding ring will always stay on my finger," trilled **Tiny Tim**. "She is still my sweet angel and I love her more than ever."

How did **Pat Nixon** keep her cool while knocking back all those 120-proof *mao-tai* toasts in China? Daughter **Julie Eisenhower** revealed the sober secret: she faked it. "Mother said she never swallowed any of that horrible Chinese liquor the whole time she was there," said Julie. To show the rest of the family what the stuff was like, the President poured some from one of the seven bottles he brought back and touched a match to it. For ten minutes the White House dining room was filled with dragon smoke.

In a Los Angeles *Times* story on the city's mayor, Democratic Presidential Hopeful **Sam Yorty**, Actress



CANDY BERGEN: A SMALL SCOOP

Candice Bergen scored a small scoop: **Sam** and **Betsy Yorty** both practice meditation. The mayor does it yoga-style in the bathroom after a shower; **Betsy** does it with a mantra (the repetition of a syllable pattern). "I've been meditating for 30 years," **Sam** told **Candy**. "I regard it as just concentrated prayer. It lets me gather up strength for the day to withstand the barbs in the *Times*."

Is Auckland, N.Z., ready for the redoubtable **Germaine Greer**? Well, no—she was served with a court summons for using the pastoral expletive "bullshit" and an even earthier word during a speech she made at the Town Hall. But yes (or maybe)—when **Germaine** appeared in Wellington Magistrate's Court, a crowd of 200 young followers gathered outside and loudly chanted the forbidden language. In her defense, **Germaine** testified that she used the barnyard term because "there is no other word in our dialect which depicts as effectively a specious argument." As for the other word, she said that the only people who objected to it were "those who disdain the action it represents." The judge made a nice distinction—acquitting her for the first word but sentencing her to pay \$36 and costs for the second.

When they arrived at a Republican fund-raising dinner in Washington, **Martha Mitchell** and her husband were accosted by a reporter who wanted to know what the former Attorney General thought about the *ITT* case (see *THE NATION*). "Well," yelled **Martha**, "if you want to know what I think



JULIE EISENHOWER: MOTHER FAKED IT



MARTHA MITCHELL: IF YOU WANT TO KNOW

... whereupon **John Mitchell** took her by the arm and moved off. The rest was silence.

TV Chef **Julio Child** was doing a demonstration at the venerable Smithsonian Institution in Washington. Asked about the occasional calamities on her television show, she replied: "Part of being a good cook is being able to recover." What Mrs. Child meant soon became clear when a bowl of flour and eggs spilled all over the stove. "What a horrible mess!" she exclaimed, and began mixing a new batch, while her husband cleaned up.

French Actress **Catherine Deneuve** doesn't talk much about being liberated, but she goes her own way. In 1963 she had a son by Director **Roger Vadim** and refused to marry him just to satisfy convention. She has been divorced for a couple of years from British Photographer **David Bailey**, but now friends report she expects another child in May. Catherine has announced no plans to marry the man she has been living with: Italian Actor **Marcello Mastroianni**.

The Stargazer

To her neighbors in La Jolla, Calif., British-born Margaret Burbidge is an attractive woman in her 40s with a quiet, self-effacing manner. To her fellow scientists, she is also one of the foremost astronomers in the world, the wife of Physicist Geoffrey Burbidge, and the explorer of stars, galaxies and quasars. Yet, for all her success, the female half of the scientific team of B^2 (B square)—as their colleagues call the Burbidges—has faced many of the difficulties usually experienced by women who dare to venture into the male-dominated world of science.

Daughter of a chemist, Mrs. Burbidge developed an early interest in the stars. At the University of London, her work with telescopes so impressed her professors that they appointed her acting director of the school observatory. There, she caught the eye of Geoffrey Burbidge, who was also studying at the university. They were married six months later.

In the early 1950s, the Burbidges decided to go to the U.S., where the skies were much better for stargazing than in cloudy Britain. He won a fellowship at Harvard, and she a grant to work at the University of Chicago's Yerkes Observatory in Williams Bay, Wis. The result: they had to postpone joint housekeeping in the U.S.

In 1955, Burbidge received a Carnegie fellowship in astronomy at Mount Wilson Observatory, but since these awards were not then available to women, Mrs. Burbidge had to take a job as a researcher at nearby Caltech. There was also a more serious

problem. As a woman, Mrs. Burbidge found that she could get precious observing time at Mount Wilson Observatory only if her husband applied for it and she pretended to act as his assistant. Recalls Mrs. Burbidge: "It was my first exposure to the discouragement women scientists encounter in the U.S."

At first the Burbidges accepted this arrangement. Then one day Mrs. Burbidge was refused use of an observatory truck to haul her scientific gear up the mountain. That did it: the Burbidges formally protested the anti-woman rule—and won.

New Explanation. Mrs. Burbidge's persistence paid off scientifically, too. Out of her careful spectral observations of a varying abundance of certain elements in stars, the Burbidges and their collaborators, Nuclear Physicist William Fowler and Astrophysicist Fred Hoyle, were able to develop what has become known as the " B^2 FH" theory (after the final initials of its four proponents). It provided a totally new explanation of how elements are formed in the fiery nuclear furnaces of stars.

In 1957, the Burbidges joined the University of Chicago. Because of old nepotism rules, the university could not officially employ two members of the same family. "The irony of such rules," says Mrs. Burbidge, who had to settle for an unsalaried appointment while her husband was named a fully paid associate professor, "is that they are always used against the wife."

At the University of California in San Diego, where the Burbidges have taught for the past decade, Mrs. Burbidge tries to give all the time and counsel she can to women students. "In



ASTRONOMER BURBIDGE STUDYING PHOTOS
The rules are against the wife.

view of their situation," she says, "they need every encouragement." Together with the late Nobel laureate in physics Maria Goeppert Mayer—who died last month—she has also been pressuring the university to hire more women. A few months ago, she unexpectedly rejected the distinguished Annie J. Cannon Prize, given by the American Astronomical Society for notable work by women in astronomy. "Because of the small number of women in the field," she told the society, it would "not be surprising if we all in our turn are selected for the prize."

To many women, the right to sit on a freezing mountain inside the observer's cage of a moving telescope, perhaps five or six stories above the ground, is at best an unenviable privilege. But Mrs. Burbidge continued observing well into her sixth month of pregnancy; her only child, Sarah, 15, perhaps prenatally influenced, insists that she will never follow her mother's example. Margaret Burbidge has forsworn traditional domesticity. Except on rare occasions, the Burbidges dine out. Asks jovial Geoffrey Burbidge: "What's wrong with restaurant food?"

Recently named the first woman director of Britain's famed Royal Greenwich Observatory, Mrs. Burbidge will now be spending many months in England. Yet the Burbidges are convinced that their careers and marriage can accommodate to the honor. As a start, Geoffrey Burbidge plans to spend a year's leave in Britain. "As always," says Mrs. Burbidge, "we will each concentrate on what we do best: Geoffrey will do the theorizing and I will do the observing." Then, after a brief pause, she adds with just a trace of wistfulness: "The only problem will be to find the time to get together to share ideas."

Situation Report

ANY woman who opts for a scientific career will quickly find that the statistics are stacked against her. Although women now make up nearly 40% of the U.S. labor force, they account for only 10% of the nation's more than 350,000 scientists. Furthermore, women in the sciences earn fewer doctorates than men, have more trouble winning tenured posts in universities, are paid less than males in the same field—the so-called "skirt differential"—and all too often find it almost impossible to reach the top rungs of their profession. The National Academy of Sciences, for instance, currently has only nine women among its more than 800 elected members. Of 278 Nobel Prizes in science, only six have been awarded to women (two to Marie Curie and one to her daughter Irène).

In recent years, there have been some hints of change in attitudes toward women in science. For example, Government agencies like the Department of Transportation are now making an effort to recruit women for research posts. So, too, are colleges and universities, industrial firms and even such traditional male strongholds as engineering societies. On another level, the number of graduate scholarships awarded by the National Science Foundation to women has been steadily rising: for 1970-71 they accounted for nearly 20% of the total, up almost 4% from the previous year. Beyond this, women continue to be employed in substantial numbers—though often in lower-ranking jobs than men—in such fields as chemistry, where they account for about 27% of all scientists, the biological sciences (21%), psychology (19%) and mathematics (10%).

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Rating th

In tests by two of Europe's leading motor magazines, steel-belted

1969: Auto Motor und Sport Magazine

1 ST	Uniroyal 180	(Steel)
2 ND	Michelin XAS	(Steel)
3 RD	Phoenix Sen.	(Fabric)
4 TH	Metzeler Monza	(Fabric)
5 TH	Fulda P 23	(Fabric)

These tests included: handling on curves, steering exactness on a zig-zag slalom course, braking distance and behavior, acceleration and skid resistance on a wet circular track, comfort and wear. In addition, Auto Motor und

1970: Auto Motor und Sport Magazine

1 ST	Uniroyal 180	(Steel)
2 ND	Pirelli CN 36	(Steel)
3 RD	Michelin zX	(Steel)
4 TH	Kleber V 10	(Fabric)
5 TH	Semperit	(Fabric)
6 TH	Dunlop SP 68	(Fabric)

Sport included a test for tire noise in '69, winter suit-

Although radial tires are big news in the U.S. today, they have been widely used in Europe—and increasingly preferred—for the past fifteen years.

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1971: Auto Motor und Sport Magazine

1 ST	Metzeler Monza (Steel)
2 ND	Conti TS 771 (Steel)
3 RD	Uniroyal 180 (Steel)
4 TH	Phoenix Sen. (Fabric)
5 TH	Fulda P 25 Rib (Fabric)
6 TH	Goodyear G800 (Fabric)

ability in '70 and aquaplaning tendency in '71.

overall in three out of four of the above series of tests —is now available in this country in sizes to fit most of the popular European cars.

In addition, Uniroyal is now making a steel-belted radial especially designed for American cars, called the Uniroyal Zeta 40M. This tire is being produced in the United States.

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Uniroyal has made more than 20 million steel-belted radials over the past 12 years, and knows how to make them properly.

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Here is how to tell what you're getting. If the dealer tells you it's a "radial tire", you can be pretty sure it's a fabric-belted radial. If he tells you it's a "steel tire," the chances are it's a steel-belted bias construction. (That is, a conventional tire, without the performance advantages of a radial.) If it's a steel-

1971: Auto Zeitung Magazine

1 ST	Uniroyal 180 (Steel)
2 ND	Michelin zX (Steel)
3 RD	Pirelli CF 67 (Fabric)
4 TH	Conti TS 771 (Steel)
5 TH	Kleber V 10 (Fabric)
6 TH	Conti TT 714 (Fabric)
6 TH	Fulda P 25 Rib (Fabric)
8 TH	Dunlop Sp 57F (Fabric)
9 TH	Phoenix P110Ti (Fabric)
10 TH	Bridgestone (Fabric)
10 TH	Metzeler Monza (Steel)
12 TH	Metzeler Monza (Fabric)
13 TH	Goodyear G800 (Fabric)

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Male & Female: Differences Between Them

THE Book of Genesis had it wrong. In the beginning God created Eve," says Johns Hopkins Medical Psychologist John Money. What he means is that the basic tendency of the human fetus is to develop as a female. If the genes order the gonads to become testicles and put out the male hormone androgen, the embryo will turn into a boy; otherwise it becomes a girl. "You have to add something to get a male," Money notes. "Nature's first intention is to create a female."

Nature may prefer women, but virtually every culture has been partial to men. That contradiction raises an increasingly pertinent question (as well as the hackles of militant feminists): Are women immutably different from men? Women's Liberationists believe that any differences—other than anatomical—are a result of conditioning by society. The opposing view is that all of the differences are fixed in the genes. To scientists, however, the nature-nurture controversy is oversimplified. To them, what human beings are results from a complex interaction between both forces. Says Oxford Biologist Christopher Ounsted: "It is a false dichotomy to say that this difference is acquired and that one genetic. To try and differentiate is like asking a penny whether it is really a heads penny or a tails penny." As Berkeley Psychologist Frank Beach suggests, "Predispositions may be genetic; complex behavior patterns are probably not."

The idea that genetic predispositions exist is based on three kinds of evidence. First, there are the "cultural universals" cited by Margaret Mead. Almost everywhere, the mother is the principal caretaker of the child, and male dominance and aggression are the rule. Some anthropologists believe there has been an occasional female-dominated society; others insist that none have existed.

Sex Typing. Then there is the fact that among most ground-dwelling primates, males are dominant and have as a major function the protection of females and offspring. Some research suggests that this is true even when the young are raised apart from adults, which seems to mean that they do not learn their roles from their society.

Finally, behavioral sex differences show up long before any baby could possibly perceive subtle differences be-

tween his parents or know which parent he is expected to imitate. "A useful strategy," says Harvard Psychologist Jerome Kagan, "is to assume that the earlier a particular difference appears, the more likely it is to be influenced by biological factors."

Physical differences appear even before birth. The heart of the female fetus often beats faster, and girls develop more rapidly. "Physiologically," says Sociologist Barbet Blackington, "women are better-made animals." Males do have more strength and endurance—though that hardly matters in a technological society.



MOTHER WITH CHILDREN: MORE ATTENTION FOR GIRLS
"Nature has been the oppressor."

Recent research hints that there may even be sex differences in the brain. According to some experimenters, the presence of the male hormone testosterone in the fetus may "masculinize" the brain, organizing the fetal nerve centers in characteristic ways. This possible "sex typing" of the central nervous system before birth may make men and women respond differently to incoming stimuli, Sociologist John Gagnon believes.

In fact, newborn girls do show different responses in some situations. They react more strongly to the removal of a blanket and more quickly to touch and pain. Moreover, experiments demonstrate that twelve-week-old girls gaze longer at photographs of faces than at geometric figures. Boys show no preference then, though

eventually they pay more attention to figures. Kagan acknowledges the effect of environment, but he has found that it exerts a greater influence on girls than on boys. The female infants who experienced the most "face-to-face interaction" with their mothers were more attentive to faces than girls whose mothers did not exchange looks with them so much. Among boys, there was no consistent relationship.

Internal Organs. As some psychologists see it, this very early female attention to the human face suggests that women may have a greater and even partly innate sensitivity to other human beings. Perhaps this explains why girls seem to get more satisfaction from relationships with people.

Even after infancy, the sexes show differential interests that do not seem to grow solely out of experience. Psy-

choanalyst Erik Erikson has found that boys and girls aged ten to twelve use space differently when asked to construct a scene with toys. Girls often build a low wall, sometimes with an elaborate doorway, surrounding a quiet interior scene. Boys are likely to construct towers, façades with cannons, and lively exterior scenes. Erikson acknowledges that cultural influences are at work, but he is convinced that they do not fully explain the nature of children's play. The differences, he says, "seem to parallel the morphology [shape and form] of genital differentiation itself: in the male, an external organ, erectile and intrusive; internal organs in the female, with vestibular access, leading to statically expectant ova."

In aptitude as well as in interest, sex differences become apparent early in life. Though girls are generally less adept than boys at mathematical and spatial reasoning, they learn to count sooner and to talk earlier and better. Some scientists think this female verbal superiority may be caused by sex-linked differences in the brain. Others believe it may exist because, as observation proves, mothers talk to infant girls more than to baby boys. But does the mother's talking cause the child to do likewise, or could it be the other way round? Psychologist Michael Lewis suggests the possibility that girls are talked to more because, for biological reasons, they respond more than boys to words and thus stimulate their mothers to keep talking.

Evidence that parental behavior does affect speech comes from tests made by Kagan among poor Guatemalan children. There, boys are more highly valued than girls, are talked to more and become more verbal. In the

BEHAVIOR

U.S., Psychiatrist David Levy has found that boys who are atypically good with words and inept with figures have been overprotected by their mothers. Psychologist Elizabeth Bing has observed that girls who excel at math and spatial problems have often been left to work alone by their mothers, while highly verbal girls have mothers who offer frequent suggestions, praise and criticism.

While girls outdo boys verbally, they often lag behind in solving analytical problems, those that require attention to detail. Girls seem to think "globally," responding to situations as a whole instead of abstracting single elements. In the "rod and frame test," for instance, a subject sits in a dark room before a luminous rod inside a slightly tilted frame, and is asked to

—lies an explanation for the apparent male capacity to think analytically.

In IQ tests, males and females score pretty much alike. Since this is true, why do women seem less creative? Many social scientists are convinced that the reasons are cultural. Women, they say, learn early in life that female accomplishment brings few rewards. In some cases, women cannot be creative because they are discriminated against. In other instances, a woman's creativity may well be blunted by fear of nonconformity, failure or even success itself (see *following story*). Unlike men, Kagan says, women are trained to have strong anxiety about being wrong.

To many psychoanalysts, however, the explanation lies in the fact that women possess the greatest creative

even in supposedly masculine characteristics—some distinctions turn up remarkably early. At New York University, for example, researchers have found that a female infant stops sucking a bottle and looks up when someone comes into the room; a male pays no attention to the visitor.

Another Kagan experiment shows that girls of twelve months who become frightened in a strange room drift toward their mothers, while boys look for something interesting to do. At four months, twice as many girls as boys cry when frightened in a strange laboratory. What is more, Kagan says, similar differences can be seen in monkeys and baboons, which "forces us to consider the possibility that some of the psychological differences between men and women may not be the product of experience alone but of subtle biological differences."

Female Passivity. Many researchers have found greater dependence and docility in very young girls, greater autonomy and activity in boys. When a barrier is set up to separate youngsters from their mothers, boys try to knock it down; girls cry helplessly. There is little doubt that maternal encouragement—or discouragement—of such behavior plays a major role in determining adult personality. For example, a mother often stimulates male autonomy by throwing a toy far away from her young son, thus tacitly suggesting to him that he leave her to get it.

Animal studies suggest that there may be a biological factor in maternal behavior; mothers of rhesus monkeys punish their male babies earlier and more often than their female offspring; they also touch their female babies more often and act more protective toward them.

As for the controversial question of female "passivity," Psychoanalyst Helene Deutsch believes that the concept has been misunderstood. "There is no contradiction between being feminine and working. The ego can be active in both men and women," she says. It is only in love and in sex that passivity is particularly appropriate for women. As she sees it, passivity is no more than a kind of openness and warmth; it does not mean "inactivity, emptiness or immobility."

Another controversy rages over the effect of hormones. Militant women, who discount hormonal influence, disagree violently with scientific researchers, who almost unanimously agree that hormones help determine how people feel and act. So far, there have been few studies of male hormones, but scientists think they may eventually discover hormonal cycles in men that produce cyclic changes in mood and behavior. As for females, studies have indicated that 49% of female medical and surgical hospital admissions, and 62% of violent crimes among women prisoners occur on premenstrual and



CONFINED BEHIND BARRIER, GIRL CRIES WHILE BOY STRUGGLES TO GET OUT
"Physiologically, women are better-made animals."

move the rod to an upright position. Boys can separate the rod visually from the frame and make it stand straight; girls, misled by the tipped frame, usually adjust the rod not to the true vertical but to a position parallel with the sides of the frame.

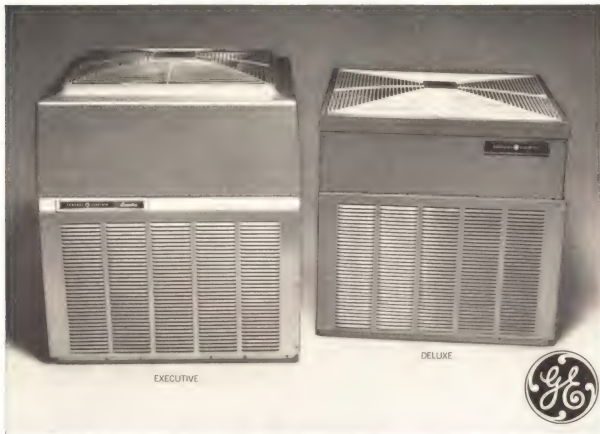
In another experiment, children are asked to group related pictures. Boys again pay attention to details, perhaps putting together pictures that show people with an arm raised; girls make functional groupings of, for example, a doctor, a nurse and a wheelchair.

In all such differences, environmental influence is suggested by the fact that children who think analytically most often prove to have mothers who have encouraged initiative and exploration, while youngsters who think globally have generally been tied to their mother's apron strings. In Western society, of course, it is usually boys who are urged toward adventure. Herein, perhaps—there is no proof

power of all: bringing new life into being; thus they need not compensate by producing works of art. Men, it is theorized, are driven to make up for what seems to them a deficiency. That they feel keenly, though unconsciously, their inability to bear children is shown in dreams reported on the analyst's couch, in the behavior of small boys who play with dolls and walk around with their stomachs thrust forward in imitation of their pregnant mothers and in primitive rites and ancient myths. According to these myths, presumably conceived by males, Adam delivered Eve from his rib cage, Zeus gave birth to Athena out of his head, and when Semele was burned to death, Zeus seized Dionysus from her womb and sewed him up in his thigh until the infant had developed.

There are personality differences between the sexes too. Although no trait is confined to one sex—there are women who exceed the male average

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BEHAVIOR

menstrual days. At Worcester State Hospital in Massachusetts, Psychologists Donald and Inge Broverman have found that estrogen sharpens sensory perception. They believe that this heightened sensitivity may lead more women than men to shy away from situations of stress.

Fierce Bulls. One trait thought to be affected by hormones is aggressiveness. In all cultures, investigators report, male infants tend to play more aggressively than females. While scientists think a genetic factor may be involved, they also observe that society fosters the difference by permitting male aggression and encouraging female adaptability. Some suggest that females may be as aggressive as men—but with words instead of deeds.

The definitive research on hormones and aggression is still to be done. However, it has been established that the female hormone estrogen inhibits aggression in both animal and human males. It has also been proved that the male hormone androgen influences aggression in animals. For example, castration produces tractable steers rather than fierce bulls.

The influence of androgen begins even before birth. Administered to pregnant primates, the hormone makes newborn females play more aggressively than ordinary females. Moreover, such masculinized animals are unusually aggressive as long as they live, even if they are never again exposed to androgen.

According to some experts, this long-lasting effect of hormones administered or secreted before birth may help explain why boys are more aggressive than girls even during their early years when both sexes appear to produce equal amounts of male and female hormones. Other observers have suggested that the spurt in male-hormone production at puberty could be one of the causes of delinquency in adolescent boys, but there is no proof that this is so.

Will there some day be a "unisex" society with no differences between men and women, except anatomical ones? It seems unlikely. Anatomy, parturition and gender, observes Psychologist Joseph Adelson, cannot be wished away "in a spasm of the distended will, as though the will, in pursuit of total human possibility, can amplify itself to overcome the given." Or, as Psychoanalyst Therese Benedek sees it, "biology precedes personality."

"Nature has been the oppressor," observes Michael Lewis. Women's role as caretaker "was the evolutionary result of their biological role in birth and feeding." The baby bottle has freed women from some of the tasks of that role, but, says University of Michigan Psychologist Judith Bardwick, "the major responsibility for child rearing is the woman's, even in the Soviet Union, the Israeli kibbutz, Scandinavia and mainland China."

Furthermore, though mothering skills are mostly learned, it is a fact that if animals are raised in isolation and then put in a room with the young of the species, it is the females who go to the infants and take care of them.

"Perhaps the known biological differences can be totally overcome, and society can approach a state in which a person's sex is of no consequence for any significant activity except childbearing," admits Jerome Kagan. "But we must ask if such a society will be satisfying to its members." As he sees it, "complementarity" is what makes relationships stable and pleasurable.

Psychoanalyst Martin Symonds agrees. "The basic reason why unisex must fail is that in the sexual act itself, the man has to be assertive, if tenderly, and the woman has to be receptive. What gives trouble is when men see assertiveness as aggression and women see receptiveness as submission." Unisex, he sums up, would be "a disaster," because children need roles to identify with and rebel against. "You can't identify with a blur. A unisex world would be a frictionless environment in which nobody would be able to grow up."

The crucial point is that a difference is not a deficiency. As Biologist Ounsted puts it, "We are all human beings and in this sense equal. We are not, however, the same." In the opinion of John Money, "You can play fair only if you recognize and respect authentic differences."

Though scientists disagree about the precise nature and causes of these differences, there is no argument about two points: society plays a tremendous part in shaping the differences, and most women are capable of doing whatever they want. Only in the top ranges of ability, says Kagan, are innate differences significant; for typical men and women, "the biological differences are totally irrelevant." Psychiatrist Donald Lunde agrees. "There is no evidence," he asserts, "that men are any more or less qualified by biological sex differences alone to perform the tasks generally reserved for them in today's societies."

Sex and Success

Even though the number of educated women is at an alltime high, the representation of women in the traditionally male professions is still extremely low. One likely reason for this paradox, says Harvard Psychologist Matina Horner, is that U.S. women actively fear success.

Horner began looking into this when she discovered that the few studies that had been made of women's motivation for achievement showed they had high anxiety. Reasonably certain that this meant women were afraid of competition, Horner decided nonetheless to test that assumption. Putting men and women in competitive and



DRAWING BY WHITNEY DARRON. © 1992 THE NEW YORKER MAGAZINE, INC.

"I didn't realize Akerman, Burbee & Smith had women in key jobs."

noncompetitive situations, she found that males showed a spurt of motivation in competition. Females did not. It was anxiety about competition that apparently held the women back.

The revelation about fear of success came from the one sex "cue" included in the experiment. Horner had modified the familiar TAT (Thematic Apperception Test*) to require males to write about the success of another male, females on the success of a female. Asked to write about a mythical girl at the top of her medical school class, more than 65% of the women associated her success with depression, illness and sometimes even death. Asked to write about a boy in the same position, 90% of the men equated his success with happiness and prosperity. The women obviously seemed afraid of success.

Horner discovered that women's fear of success increases with their ability, and that the greater their fear, the less well they do in competition with men. She also found that fear of success increases as women progress farther in school, affecting as many as 90% of college juniors. It is at this level that many women switch to more "traditionally feminine" goals, to teach instead of going to law school, for example, or to work for a politician instead of being one.

Fear of success was clearly tied to the attitude of society in general and the attitudes of boy friends in particular. Those attitudes became obvious during other IAT tests that Psychologist Horner administered to male law students. The men described a successful woman as unattractive, unpopular, unfeminine, merely a "computer" and overaggressive.

* Subjects tell a story that the psychologist interprets.

Situation Report

IF statistics mean anything, American women are having a harder time today than they were a few years ago. For one thing, female suicide is on the rise. While it has long been true that more men than women kill themselves, the ratio has changed. This is true across the country, but the change is particularly marked in certain large cities. In Los Angeles in 1960, for example, 35% of the people who committed suicide were women. Last year the figure had risen to 45%. Another change: while women have always failed more often in suicide attempts than men, the difference is no longer as great—women are becoming more adept at killing themselves.

The higher suicide rate is only one evidence that women are experiencing more conflict. A recent University of Wisconsin study suggests that women psychiatric patients today complain of more anxiety, depression, alienation and inability to cope with stress than did their counterparts of ten years ago. The researchers found no such trend among men. Relatively unchanged over the past few years is the fact that more women than men are in therapy for minor emotional troubles, and, according to some psychiatrists, more male

than female patients are "seriously impaired." A major reason for these differences may well be society's willingness to let women complain of feeling anxious while frowning on men who do likewise. As a result, men may keep their symptoms to themselves until they break down completely.

In drug addiction, there appears to be a tiny decrease among women: in 1969, 16% of the nation's addicts were women, compared with 15% last year. Now, as in the past, there are estimated to be five times more men than women alcoholics. Women still begin drinking heavily later than men—in their early 30s instead of 20s. But once started, women drinkers deteriorate faster into alcoholism.

Another difference is the increase in the out-of-wedlock birth rate among girls from 15 to 19: from 8.3% per 1,000 unmarried teen-agers in 1940 to 19.8% in 1971. Surprisingly, Indiana University Sociologist, Phillips Cutright believes that increased sexual activity at this age level is a "relatively minor factor"; a more important cause is improved health. There is also a striking rise in the number of unmarried mothers who keep their babies. No nationwide records are kept, but one Boston social agency reports an increase among whites from 10% a decade ago to 45% in 1970.

Sex and Change

There is little doubt that there have been marked changes in sexual morality during the past several years, and that these changes have affected women, especially young women, more dramatically than men. Although behavioral experts believe that reports of a "sexual revolution" are greatly exaggerated, they agree that some profound changes—especially in attitude—have taken place.

Unlike their parents, for example, many members of the new generation look on premarital sex as good instead of bad. One result is that the cult of the virgin is nearly dead: a Gallup poll in 1970 found three out of four students indifferent to virginity—or lack of it—in the person they marry. Berkeley Sociologist Mildred Henry has found that such changes in attitude are particularly characteristic of girls from "fundamental Christian homes."

Emancipated young people are "getting rid of the idea that sex is something men do to women," says Gynecologist Philip Sarrel of Yale's sex counseling service. Influenced, perhaps, by Masters and Johnson, girls think of orgasm as a legitimate and attainable pleasure. Besides, reports Stanford Psychiatrist Donald Lunde, there is "an equalization of sexual activity between men and women."

Nowadays, young people begin to have sex earlier than at any other time in U.S. history. Over the past 20 years, Lunde notes, there has been a substantial increase in the number of college-age women who engage in masturbation and intercourse. University of Minnesota Sociologist Ira Reiss observes that about 40% of women are non-virgins by age 20, and that 70% have had sex by the time they marry.

Says British Gynecologist John Slome: "The kiss of the 1940s and 1950s has become the sexual intercourse of the '60s and '70s."

How much these changes have been influenced by the Pill is a matter of dispute. Sociologist Henry believes the Pill has been greatly liberating. But Harvard Gynecologist John Grover, citing "the spiraling rate of unwanted pregnancies," is convinced that its impact is minor. According to Reiss, using the Pill makes some girls see themselves as "constantly on the alert for sex"; because "they can't accept that image of themselves, they won't take it."

Altered Behavior. University of Michigan Psychologist Judith Bardwick says that instead of liberating women to enjoy sex, the Pill has replaced fear of pregnancy with fear of being used. "Far from giving young women the sexual license that men have so long enjoyed, the Pill has caused some women to resent male freedom even more," she writes. "Far from alleviating anxiety over sexual use of the body, the Pill has exacerbated it." Besides, the Pill has in some cases altered behavior without changing motives. The woman of an earlier generation, hoping to keep her man, said no to premarital sex because she was afraid he would scorn her if she "succumbed." With the same end in view—holding on to a man—the contemporary woman often says yes because she knows the man will look for someone more willing if she refuses.

Grover voices another concern, that premarital sex may lead youngsters to expect too much of marriage, which demands more of partners than just sharing the same bed. Manhattan Psychiatrist Julianne Densen-Gerber considers the dangers even more grave: "The teen-age girl hung up on the

idea of female orgasm ends up by humiliating her masculinity-obsessed but usually inexperienced partner," leaving both disillusioned with sex as a cure for alienation. "This syndrome is the major route to youthful drug addiction," she warns.

But there are positive sides to the new freedom. Cornell Psychiatrist James Masterson believes that social pressure to have sex sooner leads to early discovery and treatment of sexual problems. Besides, a succession of involvements "may teach one to deal not only with the emotional potential for a close relationship but also with the emotional problems of separation—two important keys to adjustment."



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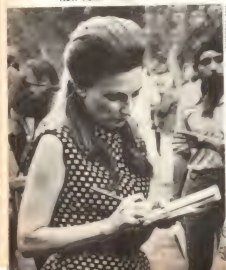
Flight from Fluff

The women's page of the *Kansas City Times* on one recent morning gave its readers a package consisting of Ann Landers' advice, a syndicated exercise column, a syndicated dress pattern, a large picture of three women with a cookbook and another picture of a model being ogled by the co-chairmen of a benefit fashion show. On the same day, the much larger "Style" section of the *Washington Post* offered, among other things, profiles of Chou En-lai and Mao Tse-tung excerpted from André Malraux's *Anti-Memoirs*, a crisp review of a television appearance by five wives of Cabinet members in which the reviewer called for "liberation" of these women, and a review of Haim Ginnott's book, *Teacher and Child*.

LOS ANGELES "TIMES'S" JEAN TAYLOR



NEW YORK "TIMES'S" CHARLOTTE CURTIS



This sharp contrast underscores the large and growing division between two kinds of women's page. The traditional variety perceives its readers as housewives and club members with limited concerns. Says Colleen Dishon, a former women's editor in Chicago and now in charge of a women's news service: "Women's pages for the most part have always embraced the all-American dream and added a cardboard dog to complete the family." The newer type assumes reader interests far beyond brides, diapers and charity luncheons, and strives for male readers as well.

At the *Los Angeles Times*, the women's section logotype has metamorphosed from "Women" to "Family" to "Part IV" to its present "View." The *Washington Post* kicked around 34 heads including "Private Lives," "Living," "Special Section," "Trends," "Critique," "Spectrum" and "You" before finally settling on "Style." The *Chicago Tribune* obviously has two concepts of women's pages: one with its brightly packaged Sunday "Life-style" and the other with its flashy Monday fashion section, "Feminique."

Several major dailies have done away with women's pages as such and incorporated some of their better ingredients into general feature sections. The *Minneapolis Star's* former Women's News editor, Sue Hovik, agitated for months to have her section, and thus her job, abolished: "By defining a section as Women's News," the newspaper creates an invisible barrier that tends to fence readers either in or out of that section." In November 1970, Hovik won her battle; the *Star* junked its women's section and created "Variety." "Newsworthy activities by women," said Hovik, "should be of interest to both men and women." This thinking is obviously carried through in the *Louisville Courier-Journal's* up-

PHILADELPHIA "BULLETIN'S" MARJORIE PAXSON



beat "Today's Living" section. Women's Editor Carol Sutton finds room in her section for stories by city-side reporters; her staffers, in return, sometimes see their articles published in the general news pages. Instead of being a news ghetto, the section blends easily into the rest of the *Courier-Journal*.

L.A. Times Women's Editor Jean Taylor is determined "to develop coverage that will reflect the contemporary California life-style, which is different from any other." She usually succeeds; social trends often start in the West, and "View" has tried to keep pace with coverage of swinging singles, unwed mothers, communes, the counterculture's ebb and flow. Though talking more about subjects like abortion, "View" still leans heavily on fashion and society news. What has declined in the section is the number of marriage announcements.

Connubial Copy. Many women's editors across the country would like to copy the *L.A. Times* and a few other big-city dailies that now use wedding announcements as fillers, if at all. It becomes almost an ideological issue, because these announcements, except in small communities, can only cover the children of the affluent. The usual yardstick at the *L.A. Times*, says one staffer, is "Yes to the daughter of the owner of the International House of Pancakes chain; No to the daughter of the owner of a single House of Pancakes franchise." But *L.A. Times* Associate Editor James Bellows is realistic about why his paper can move away from marriage items, while smaller papers cannot: "If you live in a town like Charleston, S.C., where everybody has lived for 100 years, you could not pull out the brides because everybody wants to read about each other."

Even the *New York Times* still runs yards of connubial copy, mostly on Sunday, when the brides break up acres of retail advertising. Nevertheless, since "Family/Style" Editor Charlotte Curtis took over in 1965, the tone of her 4-F page—"family, food, fashions, furnishings"—has changed drastically. She is bored with social chitchat but fascinated with sociology. Says Curtis: "To look at current phenomena—the geodesic dome, plastic furniture and the family—that's where the big revolution is happening. The basic overturning of the family is just as important as the overturning of Lyndon Johnson."

The *Times* is not always as avant in print as Curtis' remark indicates. There is still an occasional feature about that busy housewife who does it all, or a piece about the famous man's little woman who, it turns out, chooses his neckties. But the page is well worth reading—for men as well as women—because of articles about the changing status of Arab women in Israel; where to eat in Tancanh, South Viet Nam; the retired madam

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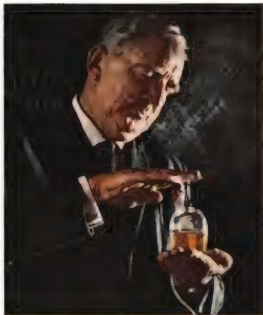
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who knows she "saved a bunch of marriages from collapse"; and the outdated moral standards used by a New York family court judge in a child custody case.

Omission. While the *Times* usually sticks to one page for special features, Long Island's *Newsday* and the Washington *Post* have moved toward full feature sections covering the arts, the media, life-styles, personalities of both sexes—all under one umbrella. These papers run paragon of what women's sections can become. *Newsday's* "Part II," with an assist from its tabloid format, reads much like a newsmagazine. Stories dealing with medicine, behavior, entertainment are separated into subsections. Not one is devoted exclusively to women, and the omission is not an oversight. Explains *Newsday* Executive Editor David Laventhol: "I feel that women's pages should be a thing of the past. They were frivolous, nonsubstantial and insulting to women."

Though big papers on both coasts and in the Midwest have been moving at varying speeds toward innovation, the flight from the frivolous or the merely dull has hardly begun on other papers. Press critics argue that many papers still regard women's coverage primarily as a lure for food and fashion advertising. As Charlotte Curtis points out: "Most pages developed because they were good for advertisers, not for readers."

Simple inertia is another problem, and not only on small papers in the hinterland. The New York *Daily News*, with the largest seven-day circulation in the country, still offers generally unimaginative fare, as does the New York *Post*. The Philadelphia *Bulletin* has not exactly lost its breath chasing changing times either. Marjorie Paxson, the *Bulletin's* women's editor, defends her paper's approach: "I think people here are very interested in society. Not all of the city is ghettos by any means. It is up to me to strike a balance." When the paper is serving a heavy diet of what she calls "problem stories" on drug abuse and prostitution, says Paxson, she likes to offset that by sending a reporter to cover an event like the midwinter ball in St. Petersburg, Fla. Paxson speaks for many editors, male and female. Ranking men executives, in fact, are often the strongest advocates of leaving women's pages in their old mode. Frequently changes occur only after restless women subordinates agitate for it.

Reader resistance is also a factor. A few years ago the *Arizona Republic* gave its women's staff a free hand to change content, and the page began doing more serious articles. Among them were series on migrant farm workers and rest homes for the aged, and a moving story on efforts to help a catanitic child. According to Jeanne Tro Williams, who became women's editor last July, the exper-

iment aroused too much opposition. Though the *Republic* still competently covers Indian life and culture, "We have started to come back from deep-think," says Williams now. "As a relief from hard news we are trying to return to a more circusy atmosphere. We want to do happy stories about women who have done something special." The *Republic* also features 75 brides a week—with their bridegrooms.

Despite retreats like the *Republic's*, the trend seems clearly in the other direction. As Washington *Post* Columnist Nicholas von Hoffman sees it: "The women's section is the part of the paper that isn't tied to inherited ideas of what an event is"; it is attracting a number of good new journalists, both men and women. Von Hoffman himself specially requested that his own free-wheeling column run in the "Style" section of the *Post*, as did Humorist Art Buchwald. Said Von Hoffman: "People read the women's page far oftener than the editorial page, where our big hitters hold forth."

Cupcake v. Sweet Tooth

It seems only yesterday that Helen Gurley Brown told *Cosmopolitan* readers: "You've got to make yourself more cupcakeable all the time so that you're a better cupcake to be gobbled up." Meanwhile Hugh Hefner was giving *Playboy* readers lessons on how to lick off the frosting without

Situation Report

JOURNALISM, unlike most professions, has had a large women's contingent for many years. The catch from the women's viewpoint is that few of them are in prominent positions either as reporters or editors. The overwhelming majority of women journalists are still found on weeklies and the smaller dailies, where salaries are generally low, and on newspaper women's pages and magazines with predominantly female readership. Some big news organizations have begun to shop actively for female recruits, but the search goes slowly. No network news operation and no large publication aimed at a general audience is headed by a woman. Women commentators, broadcast producers, columnists and foreign correspondents remain relative rarities. Not that the talent pool is small. Last year 44% of U.S. journalism school students were women, up from 35% in 1951.

NEWSPAPERS AND WIRE SERVICES. Among all American newspapers, women now account for 35% of editorial personnel, roughly the same as in 1950. However, the proportions vary widely. The Associated Press, with a U.S. news staff of 1,050, has 112 women, and two are bureau managers. United Press International employs 900 and only 81 are women, but seven of them are bureau managers and one a general-news editor in Manhattan. The New York *Times* has 626 editors, reporters, copy readers and desk people; 64 are women. For the Washington *Post*, the figure is 70 out of 385; San Francisco *Chronicle*, 36 out of 147; St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, 23 out of 206; Chicago *Tribune*, 52 out of 373; Los Angeles *Times*, 50 out of 417. As they do on many newspapers, all but a handful of the L.A. *Times* women work for feature sections, and the paper's six women ed-

itors are all assigned to women's news, food, fashion or television.

MAGAZINES. The periodicals hire more women than do newspapers. Magazine publishers reported to the Government this year a total of 5,941 "professional" employees, of whom 2,667, or 45%, were women. Yet most of these women work for women's magazines or hold jobs below the writer-correspondent categories. Time has one woman senior editor and six writers and six correspondents; LIFE, nine writers and six correspondents; *Newsweek*, six writers and 14 correspondents; *U.S. News & World Report*, two writers and four correspondents.

BROADCASTING. Women fare little better on TV and radio news. Although seen more and more as broadcast reporters, they are generally on local rather than network programs. ABC-TV has only one woman among 43 network correspondents, NBC five out of 54, and CBS one out of 56.

The institutional parts of journalism have also been slow to change. This year, in a belated gesture, the Pulitzer Prize journalism jurors will include women for the first time—six of them out of 45. Two years ago, Sigma Delta Chi, the 63-year-old national journalism society, invited women to join, and so far about 3,000 have signed on. Fourteen months later the National Press Club in Washington, after much external protest and internal agonizing, admitted women for the first time since the club was founded in 1908. But the Gridiron Club, which fancies itself the most distinguished assemblage of journalists in the nation, has wavered only ever so slightly. It has agreed to invite 13 women guests to its annual dinner, while the membership of the 87-year-old group will remain all male—at least for the time being.

THE PRESS

actually paying for that cake. Like silent partners, Brown and Hefner—Miss Cupcake and Mr. Sweet Tooth—shared the profits of the sexual revolution* while remaining happily oblivious to the militant feminism that arrived in its wake.

What has happened to *Cosmopolitan* since Women Liberationists let Mrs. Brown know that a cupcake must learn to bite back? What has happened to *Playboy* since Gloria Steinem told Hefner, "A woman reading *Playboy* feels a little like a Jew reading a Nazi manual"?

Lib Lip Service. Desperate if not deep signs of change are becoming visible. Now in its 19th year, *Playboy* is maintaining its posture of dauntless virility while trying to be less of a male chauvinist pig about it. Recently "The Playboy Adviser"—Hefner's answer to

other questions seem to trouble *Playboy* readers—and the editor who selects which letters to print—far more. How much does one tip a blackjack dealer? What is malmsey wine? How does a fellow get—and get rid of—the crabs? Why do Japanese girls think American men smell bad? (Answer: carnivorous Americans eat ten times as much meat as Japanese and their odors prove it.)

A curious datedness hangs over *Playboy*. The props never change—the stereo waiting, the fake gun collection framed in place on the wall, the satin sheets on the bed. One poor swinger who failed to keep up with his status symbols had to have the editor explain to him why there are so few convertibles on the market. Girls are still called chicks, and the cartoons are often 1930s vintage—elderly lechers

band will be the first *Cosmo* boy in April's British edition. For the American edition, Burt Reynolds is the anticipated playmate.

The articles still bear those titles that sound like bad 19th century novels. Example: "How an Unpretty Girl Copes and Conquers." Cope and conquer as she might, the *Cosmo* girl is still treated like an idiot who can survive only if everything is spelled out for her and then underlined. If she is fat, she must scribble notes to herself: "I who wish to lose weight and am a self-confessed nibbler, do hereby promise to keep the above rules." Nothing is taken for granted. If her man is out of town, she is instructed to send him a balloon with "I love you" written on it—and *Cosmopolitan* explains just how: "Write when the balloon is inflated, mail deflated." Even if the reader is a mother and a divorcee, she must be reminded to lock that bedroom door lest her stray children wander in while she is fawning with a gentleman caller. Unbelievably simple questions receive unbelievably simple answers. Question: "If a girl likes both men and women, what is she?" Answer: "Bisexual." Though the lesbian has thus been more or less identified, the nymphomaniac still gets circumspect as "a girl who's the opposite of frigid."

Puritan Struggles. "The One-Night Affair" is accepted, even defended, as nothing shameful. But the sophistication pours out in the melted-marshmallow style of Faith Baldwin: "You're lying face-to-face—two pairs of brown eyes, greeting. Hello. You both smile, remembering last night," etc., etc.

Despite all the contradictions of a formula in transition, there is evidence that *Cosmo* may be adapting more successfully than *Playboy*. The going *Cosmo* philosophy remains: "Every girl needs a supportive man." But the nuance is important: the new emphasis is on "supportive." "He loved me," an erstwhile cupcake goes on to complain, "but he didn't love me enough, or perhaps in the right way, to help me build the kind of life that I would find liberating."

Can *Playboy* guy liberate *Cosmo* gal or vice versa? Puritan swingers, struggling dutifully for their orgasms as if doing homework for a self-improvement course, they do seem a couple with much in common. But the *Zeitgeist* that has failed to move *Playboy* much is beginning to shake *Cosmopolitan*. Dangerous words like "self-expression" and "self-fulfillment" are starting to appear. The *Cosmo* girl is still drawing a straight chalk line down her full-length mirror to check her posture. But does she want her shoulders back for marching down the aisle or marching in a protest demonstration? The answer is no longer clear. And that's the way the new cupcake crumbles.



"PLAYBOY'S" HUGH HEFNER

Silent partners sharing the sexual revolution's profits.



"COSMOPOLITAN'S" HELEN GURLEY BROWN

"Dear Abby"—piously rebuked a reader who asked if *Playboy* would help him persuade his wife to give up her career. "To deprive her of a chance to feel valuable to herself and society above and beyond the roles of wife and mother would be not only selfish but cruel," the "Adviser" preached in the gassy rhetoric once reserved exclusively for *Playboy* philosophy. At the same time, the "Adviser" managed to hint that a woman "engaged in work that is meaningful to her" might well become a more pleasing Bunny in bed.

"The Playboy Forum," the magazine's letters column, also does conspicuous Lib lip service, especially on the issue of legalized abortion, though the guffaws of pregnancy jokes continue to echo from other pages. But

* 1971 circulation: *Cosmopolitan*, 1,475,487; *Playboy*, 6,400,373.

chasing gambling nymphs around the old yacht. *Playboy* fiction often features the best names—Vladimir Nabokov, Graham Greene—though not too often their best work. *Playboy* interviews, alertly conducted with subjects worth talking to—Saul Alinsky, Charles Evers—are the magazine's quality product. But they seem to belong to another world: the real one. *Playboy*, alas, has become the voice of sexist Middle America, and Hefner its Archie Bunker. When *Playboy* ventures into the '70s, it is with tokenism—a modest amount of pubic hair on his Playmate and four-letter words in his prose.

Balloon Lesson. For *Cosmopolitan* readers, "Oh, horseradish!" is about as far as strong language goes. And Mrs. Brown is just getting around to her own centerfolds. Germaine (*The Female Eunuch*) Greer's estranged hus-

MODERN LIVING

Ah, Sweet Ms-ery

"The question is," said Alice, "whether you can make words mean different things."

"The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "which is to be master—that's all."

—Through the Looking-Glass

The real question, according to the Women's Liberation movement, is whether males have used language to help perpetuate their roles as masters. The answer, say the feminists, is yes. They have decided that the living language is living proof of their oppression, and they have set out to change it from the pronouns up.

The new jargon spawned by the lib-

subject, his idea . . ." sounds as if the artist were always a man. Thus a search is under way for a set of sexless singular pronouns. A Women's Liberation lexicographer who styles herself Varda One has come up with *ve*, *vis* and *ver*. Others have suggested singularizing *they*, *their* and *them* to *te*, *ter* and *tem*. Someone has invented *co*, *cos*, *co*, which takes a pleasant form in the *coself* construction, and another added *her* and *him* together and got *herm*, which *ve* pointed out with reprehensible etymology is "as in *hermaphrodite*."

Moving briskly on to the nouns, the "Manglish" reformers have been attacking all the words derived from *nun*, *master*, *father* and the like, usually proposing neuter or feminine al-

Arguing that men are not stigmatized by having their marital status revealed by a form of address, the feminists have decided to be called Ms. (pronounced *miz*). In spite of all the jokes about Ms. standing for manuscript and mail steamer and master sergeant, it is fast becoming both a symbol and a fact. Ordinarily nonpolitical and conservative businesses, publications and organizations that correspond with women are having to make the big decision about whether to switch to Ms. *Women's Wear Daily* has, *Vogue* has not; the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has; the White House has not.*

While resistance to Ms. crumbles, however, there is some dissension in the ranks of the movement over whether there should even be a differentiation between Mr. and Ms. One protester suggests that both men and women should be addressed as Mm., as in Mm. and Mm. Smith. Or when in doubt, mumble.

While Mothers Work

The registered nurse walked into the bright, clean child-care center in Santa Monica, seeking to enroll her 3½-year-old daughter. Aware that the state-supported center gave priority to children of single, low-income mothers, she was confident that her daughter would be accepted. What she did not know, however, was that her salary (\$600 a month) put her in a top-fee bracket: placing her youngster in the center would cost her \$200 a month, far more than she could afford. "She came in here so strong," the center's director recalled. "Then, as we talked about her situation, she began to crumble. She didn't stand a chance." Now the mother has gone on welfare—thus making her child eligible for center care at a fee of only \$19.50 a month—and spends her days studying for her master's degree in nursing. Asks the center's director: "Are we really rewarding the independent working mother?"

The answer, in Santa Monica and across the nation, is no. Although day-care centers may be the only practical solution for most working mothers, they are scarce and, in some communities, nonexistent. Most of those that are in operation are far too expensive. Because of the freedom that they promise, day-care centers have become a major Women's Lib issue. Feminists argue that free, high-quality day care is essential if women are to participate fully in society.

Day-care centers come in a variety of sizes and quality, and are run

* TIME has not switched to Ms. because it believes that Miss and Mrs. convey valid information. But TIME recognizes some justice in the complaint that Mr. does not differentiate between single and married men, and is ready to consider the use of a more precise appellation, if one were devised.



erationists has already moved into the vernacular. Expressions such as "male chauvinist pig (MCP)," "bra burner," "consciousness raising," "sex role," "role model," "sexist" and "sexism," "sister," "sisterhood" and "machismo" are now in common use, even among precocious preteen-agers. No cocktail party can be considered top drawer without at least one reference to the "myth of the vaginal orgasm" or to some "phallustine" (an MCP phillistine). But some women want more. The language, they say, reflects centuries of male dominance, and is loaded with male chauvinist piggisms that must be thoroughly rooted out.

The use of the masculine singular pronoun when the subject is not necessarily male, for example, is considered to be blatantly sexist. Henry James' "We must grant the artist his

alternatives. Thus titles such as "chairperson" and "Congressone," words like "sportsoneship," "herstory" and "spokesone" could someday—if the feminists have their way—become part of the language. Some of the suggestions seem absurd—having the milk delivered by the milkone, for example, or changing hurricane to hissicane (because women do not like to be associated with destructive storms).

But there are some phrases for which there seem to be no satisfactory alternatives; old masters does not quite work as old mistresses, nor does it seem likely that anyone will ever speak of the founding mothers, or change the currency to read "In Goddess We Trust."

One of the fiercest battles in the war of the word, however, is being fought over the use of Mrs. and Miss

MODERN LIVING

by government, industries, unions and small entrepreneurs. One of the best is Santa Monica's Lincoln Child Development Center, where the registered nurse's child is enrolled. It is operated with funds from the Federal Government, the state and the local school district. The cost of caring for each child is estimated at close to \$2,400 a year. Only a small fraction of that cost is met by parents, who pay fees that vary with their incomes. Those on welfare, like the nurse, pay as little as \$15.60 per month, while a parent earning, say, \$6,000 a year would be charged \$35.

Lincoln Center, one of four similar operations in Santa Monica, is a one-story, eight-room stucco structure built eight years ago. Floors are carpeted; there is an ample supply of toys and teaching materials, and a paved play area surrounds the building. Lincoln accepts only 36 children

are exceptions. Most communities depend upon privately owned nurseries in private homes, costing anywhere from \$65 a month per child up to more than \$100 for half-day care. A variation on the private-home theme is Family Day Care, now being tested in California under the auspices of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare; it provides home care for perhaps five or six youngsters including the volunteer day-care mother's own kids. In Pasadena, for example, a network of 25 day-care mothers tend about 125 children ranging in age from two months up to eleven years. "It works well in California," says Mrs. June Sale, project director. "Nearly everyone has a backyard, where children can play and learn about things like digging for worms. You can't do that sort of thing in a New York tenement."

At least a dozen large American

As more and more women seek jobs (5.6 million families in the U.S. are headed by women), the need for day-care centers is bound to increase. A study made by the National Council of Jewish Women shows that in many major cities only 10% of children needing day care were being provided for. The report also reveals a "terrifying collection" of abuses across the country in existing centers, including overcrowding, filthy facilities and exorbitant fees. In one home, 47 children were being tended, but the home was licensed for only six. Survey workers found several centers that had been left in the charge of ten- and eleven-year-old youngsters. Laws to regulate centers are often ignored: Washington, for example, has just one inspector for its many all-day centers and homes.

New Marriage Styles

It was Ambrose Bierce, the 19th century author and iconoclast, who defined marriage as a "community consisting of a master, a mistress and two slaves, making in all, two." In the past few years that community has come under increasing attack from feminists who feel that the traditional marriage has really consisted of one master (the husband) and one slave (the wife). Under the feminists' onslaught, the old rigid forms of marriage have begun to change, especially among younger couples. Some of the new roles assigned to husbands—and to wives—are proving to be impractical, but others may well become a permanent fixture of the New Marriage. Some marital innovators:

THE WATKINSES OF BERKELEY. Ted and Fran Watkins, married eight years ago, began in the traditional pattern: he taught school, and she kept house. Today Fran, 29, is program coordinator of Berkeley, Calif., radio station KPFA; Ted, 34, stays home and tends their son Sam, 7, and daughter Storm, 3. Ted has learned to cook well, and he does most—but not all—of the routine cleaning, washing and shopping. Fran shares in the household chores after work and on weekends. "I don't like to say our family is committed to Women's Lib," she says. "I think it's committed to human liberation."

Ted plans to go back to work again periodically, probably as a research economist. "He can make much more money than I can," Fran explains. "But I wanted to work and take a lot of the responsibility for the financial side of the family. I think Ted was able to accept this because he is a strong person with a very strong identity." Ted likes working as an economist, she says, but also enjoys "being with the children, making jewelry and painting the house." They have a joint checking account.

Ted says that he does not feel uneasy about the arrangement. "We de-



YOUNGSTERS PLAYING WITH DOLLS AT SANTA MONICA CHILD CENTER
Something more than just a baby-sitting factory.

per term and, unlike the other three centers, takes only preschoolers (ages three to five). Says Mrs. Lee Murray, head of the center: "Neighborhood children come by to visit every day. I wish we had room for them all."

Lincoln maintains a teacher-child ratio of 1 to 5. Teachers are college-trained for their jobs, put in an eight-hour day, and are occasionally aided by mothers. Open from 7 a.m. until 6 p.m., the center offers activities such as storytelling, dramatics, creative arts and simple scientific demonstrations. Parents are enthusiastic. A black mother says: "This school is marvelous. It deepens your involvement with your own children." Adds a white parent: "It's not just a baby-sitting factory. We have a real sense of community."

Santa Monica's well-run centers

corporations are already involved in day-care centers, and the feminists are pressing hard to make others go along. In Washington, D.C., for example, employees of Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Co. can leave their children at the specially designed center in the southeast section. The fee: \$15 a week. Avco's Boston plant, which also has a center, charges the same rate for children of its own employees and outside youngsters. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America sponsors six union-backed day-care centers in the East and Midwest—open five days a week, 50 weeks a year, and free for children of union members. About 70% of the union membership is female. Cost of running the centers (\$3,000 per child per year) is borne by the clothing industry, which is bound by contract to provide funds.

cided," he says, "that we wanted to live interesting, enjoyable lives rather than have success in careers. Once we decided that, we got away from roles and a lot of other things too."

Daughter Storm accepts the role reversal with equanimity, but Sam, conditioned by society for a longer time, sometimes engages in wishful thinking. Asked recently what his mother did, he replied: "She stays in the house and washes dishes, and my father plays football with me."

THE TERRYS OF DETROIT. When the Terrys decided to buy a new car in June 1970, Jo-Ann yielded gracefully. She had wanted the new car for herself, but when Bob insisted she use their old car while he took over the new one, she suggested that he sign a contract to mollify her. In the contract, he promised to make the bed every morning, pick up his clothes, take out the garbage every other day, write a bi-monthly letter to his family, fix breakfast every weekend, devote one weekend a month exclusively to his wife, fetch calorie-laden treats for her without teasing, clean up his own kitchen messes and empty the dishwasher, plan and cook one "nice" dinner a month—and let Jo-Ann choose the next new car. Bob signed, the contract was hung on the refrigerator, and Jo-Ann promptly turned into a nag trying to en-

force it. "We started beating each other over the head with contracts," says Bob, a Baptist clergyman now a consultant on race relations. "They're harder to keep than to write."

When the Terrys' first child was born in October 1970, the written contract idea was dropped. Bob, 34, and Jo-Ann, 28, an educator, had learned that equality cannot be legislated. Their salaries are about the same, they have a joint checking account, and they work similarly long hours (60-70 a week). "But we found we couldn't just switch roles," says Bob. "We've had to redefine our relationship completely." That seems to boil down to simply taking turns with the onerous chores—and to making a few specific long-range commitments. This year, for example, Jo-Ann is keeping the family books in order, and Bob is doing the cooking. "We're still working on it," says Bob. "We don't agree on everything, but we certainly know where we are."

THE ZILBERS OF BOSTON. When Barbara and Maurice Zilber were wed in 1963, they set out to build a conventional marriage. After six years, she was mistress of a large house in Chestnut Hill and the mother of two boys. Maurice had just become a partner in a downtown law firm. Then Barbara joined N.O.W. and quickly rose to become one of its city leaders. Nothing has been the same since.

Barbara now gets up at 9, while Maurice rises at 7:30 to dress and feed the three children (a daughter was born six months ago). Four days a week, a maid comes in to care for the children and do some cleaning. Barbara spends her mornings—and many afternoons and evenings too—working for N.O.W. She comes home to lunch with the kids, then cares for them from 4 p.m. onward and starts dinner. Maurice gets home at 6:30, usually helps with dinner and then helps Barbara put the children to bed. Last year they took separate five-day vacations. "It was good," says Barbara. "I hope we can do it again."

Maurice has suffered a few surprises during Barbara's emancipation. Her busy evenings out (working for N.O.W.) bothered him for a while: "It was a rude shock to me how it felt to be home alone at night. . . . I began to wonder how Barbara had felt when I was out to so many meetings at night." On several of the evenings Barbara is home, Maurice must vanish—she runs a consciousness-raising session there, and men are forbidden. "Sometimes," he says, "it makes me feel like a stranger in my own house." Barbara has a few reservations of her own. "If I had it to do all over again," she says, "I would have a partnership contract rather than get married. I want none of the baggage that comes with marriage today. Like the blacks, I just want to change the entire system."

Meatloaf Gambit

It is true enough that virtually all of the world's great chefs are men—but it is also true that most men are the world's worst cooks. Teaching a husband to cook, laudable though that feminist goal may be, can create frightening strains in a marriage—not to mention the gastrointestinal system. However, Suzanne Prescott, 29, a Chicago rock musician, has suggested a painless and sinisterly Skinnerian strategy for transforming husbands into expert meatloaf makers.

"The first week," she says, "you call home and say you've got to work late but the meatloaf is ready to go so why doesn't he just put it in the oven? Next week you call home and tell him you've left all the ingredients out on the counter and suggest he stir them together and put the loaf in the oven. The third week you call and say that everything is in the refrigerator and he knows how to put it together from last week. The fourth week you ask him to go to the store and buy the ingredients, and you've arrived."

"Trouble is that you end up eating meatloaf all the time."



THE ZILBERS RELAXING



THE TERRYS IN THE KITCHEN



THE WATKINES & CHILDREN FIXING BIKE

Father God, Mother Eve

The story is told in countless versions. Somebody—a saintly rabbi, a mystic caught up in holy ecstasy, even in one version a lost astronaut—chances to see God face to face and lives to tell about it. "What is God really like?" asks an anxious crowd back home. The narrator hesitates. "You'll be shocked," he warns. He is pressed further. "Well," he finally says, "to begin with, she's black."

The message of the joke would be lost in some cultures; in India, for instance, Kali—an incarnation of the Hindu mother goddess—is both female and black. But it bites enough in Western civilization, where Judaeo-Chris-

tian theology has intermittently taught white superiority over black and consistently taught male superiority over female. Color prejudice in theology has been largely expunged. Gender prejudice remains. God is the Father. Jesus Christ is the Son. Even the Holy Spirit, in the New Testament, is "he." And women? Women are the daughters of Eve, the original temptress.

Easy Divorce. Such simple categories are being questioned today, but the questioners are working against some 3,000 years of Judaeo-Christian thought. The trouble began, appropriately, with the creation narrative in *Genesis*, particularly when the first woman was molded from Adam's rib. Eve succumbed to the temptation of the serpent, and Adam in turn capitulated to her. "The woman you gave me," he was soon grouching to God. "She gave me the fruit." Ever after, Scripture notes with a certain masculine piety, women would bear children in sorrow and pain, and their husbands would be their masters.

Biblical laws reflected the discrimination. Wives were guilty of adultery if they had had sexual relations with any other man; husbands only if they had had relations with another married woman. Divorce was easy for a man. Later, in rabbinical law, women were classed with slaves and minors in being exempted from certain required prayers.

In the New Testament, Jesus set aside the male's privilege of easy divorce. He hobbled openly with women, talked about God with them, pointedly saved a condemned adulteress. The rabbis had taught that women could not be witnesses because, like Eve, they were easily deceived. By contrast, the first witnesses to Jesus' Resurrection were three women. For all this, the fact remains that the Redeemer was a man—the son, not the daughter, of God. And his twelve Apostles were all men.

Ill Wind. St. Paul, Jesus' prime interpreter to the world, hardly resolved the ambiguity. On the one hand, Paul encouraged women to prophesy, as they had in Jewish tradition; and at least one of his close colleagues was a woman prophet: Priscilla. He also observed that there was "neither male nor female in Christ." But in his letter to the Corinthians, Paul admonished women to wear veils and be silent at services. Christian theologians came to view this text as proof that women should be excluded from the ministry and priesthood.

The Christian centuries that followed were more plain-spoken. Tertullian reflected the mind of many early church fathers when he pronounced, in the 3rd century, that women were "the devil's gateway."

Some centuries later, when Thomas Aquinas baptized Aristotle's biology, he concluded that woman was a misbegotten male, conceived when there were "defective" influences, such as an ill wind from the south. On the other hand, medieval theologians did exalt the Virgin Mary to near-divine status as Queen of heaven and mediatrix of God's graces, a development that Jung later extolled because it provided a powerful "metaphysical representation" of the feminine. The Reformation, however, toppled that image of Mary for Protestants.

How did such a male-oriented theology develop in the first place? Ancient Europe had no gods, only the Great Goddess, wrote Robert Graves. She "was regarded as immortal, changeless and omnipotent, and the concept of fatherhood had not been introduced into religious thought . . . Once the relevance of coition to child-bearing had been officially admitted . . . man's religious status gradually improved." While agrarian societies preserved the fertility goddess, often alongside later male gods, nomadic societies chose masculine kingly gods. When the two types of societies clashed—as when the nomadic Hebrews encountered the settled Canaanites—religious conflict was inevitable.

Earth Mother. It was more than loyalty to their own faith that made the Hebrews recoil from some of their neighbors' gods. Cybele, the Phrygian Earth Mother, was almost as ferocious as her Indian counterpart Kali. Male members of her priesthood often felt compelled to castrate themselves, then present their amputated genitals to her as a sign of their devotion—just a sample of the dark side of the Earth Mother, who eventually consumed whatever she bore. Small wonder that the Hebrews preferred the minor inconvenience of circumcision as a sign of loyalty to their God.

In any event, apologists say today, the Jews did not have the luxury of multiple divinities, male and female. Egyptians could have their Osiris and Isis, Canaanites their Baal and Anath, but Jews had to choose. Hebrew had no neuter pronoun. God was either "he" or "she," and out of their patriarchal past the Jews chose the masculine. But very early on, the rabbis were teaching what has come to be doctrine for Christian and Jew alike: that God is pure spirit, above and apart from any real gender.

Contemporary apologists also have explanations for the seeming male chauvinism in biblical passages. They construe Eve's origin from Adam's side—as opposed to, say, his foot—as a symbol of woman's equal partnership with man. As for Eve's culpability, notes Conservative Rabbi Seymour Siegel, it was Eve who had to be tempted; Adam failed even to put up a fight.

St. Paul, too, has come in for



EARTH GODDESS CYBELE



SCULPTURE OF EVE SORROWING
No fight from Adam.

To the 56,000,000 people who smoke cigarettes.

A lot of people have been telling you not to smoke, especially cigarettes with high 'tar' and nicotine. But smoking provides you with a pleasure you don't want to give up.

Naturally, we're prejudiced. We're in the business of selling cigarettes.

But there is one overriding fact that transcends whether you should or shouldn't smoke and that fact is that you do smoke.

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Vantage has a unique filter that allows rich flavor to come through it and yet substantially cuts down on 'tar' and nicotine. It has only 12 milligrams 'tar' and 0.8 milligrams nicotine.

It is not a heavy drag cigarette. You don't have to work so hard pulling the smoke through it that all the joy of smoking is lost. Not that Vantage is the lowest 'tar' and nicotine cigarette. (But you probably wouldn't like the lowest 'tar' and nicotine cigarette anyway.)

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So much flavor that you'll never miss your high 'tar' cigarette.



Filter and Menthol: 12 mg. "tar", 0.8 mg. nicotine—av. per cigarette, FTC Report Aug. 71 (Menthol by FTC method).

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Doesn't matter if we're renting you a car in Orinda,

California or Boston, Massachusetts, there's only one way to do it. The right way.

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And all those Green Stamps we have to count out. It's not enough to be like everyone else and just smile and say thanks. No, we have to smile and say thanks with S&H Green Stamps.*

And then there are all those reservations we have to keep track of. With business so good, you wouldn't think that National would get so uptight about, well, goofing a reservation now and then.

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And think of those guys who have to take care of all our cars.

A car gets returned and say we're really busy. Do you think the car gets rented right out again? First, National wants to be sure the car is washed and vacuumed and

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But they figure that the more you have to offer the more people will take advantage of what you offer.

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Permacolor Total Tuning



AFT
Color
Tint
Brightness
Contrast



EMERSON

Model shown: top left: President (19CP04W); bottom left:
The Houston (17CP06W); right: El Cortes (19CP02W).
© 1977 Emerson Television Sales Corporation, a division of National Union Electric Corporation.

rehabilitation. His admonitions to the women of Corinth may have merely been sound advice: Corinth was a mixed community of Jew and Gentile Christians, and Paul probably feared that the more liberated Greek women would offend the Jews if they did not wear veils or spoke up too loudly during services. Jewish Theologian Richard L. Rubenstein, in a new book, *My Brother Paul*, admits that Paul's theology is pointedly masculine for much of its course, but sees a feminine image in Paul's vision of the "restoration of all things" in Christ at the end of time. That restoration culminates in a return to the primordial garden—Mother Earth again.

Divine Presence. Despite such apologies and defenses, at least a few feminist theologians argue that Judaic-Christian theology is still far too dominated by male concepts. Boston College's Mary Daly, a Roman Catholic laywoman, says a woman's revolution within the church is needed to overturn the patriarchal, male idea of leadership, which she describes as hyper-rational and aggressive. With it would go the masculine habit of constructing boundaries between "self" and "other." Gone, too, would be a God who keeps mankind in "infantile subjection." The new God would "encourage self-actualization and social commitment." Daly also sees a de-emphasis of Jesus: "The idea of a unique divine incarnation in a human being of male sex may give way to an increased awareness of the divine presence in all human beings."

Another Catholic feminist, Theologian Rosemary Radford Ruether of Howard University, suggests that a rise of feminine influence would liberate men as well as women by overthrowing man's technological empire—a "denatured Babel of concrete and steel." Then, says Ruether, men and women together could "learn to cultivate the garden . . . where the powers of rationalization come together with the harmonies of nature."

Ironically, Daly, and to some extent Ruether, seem to be practicing what they preach against: gender stereotyping. They do not seem to recognize that power could possibly corrupt women, just as it has men. Many theologians would also reject Mary Daly's dismissal of the uniqueness of Jesus Christ. He was incarnated as a man and chose male apostles, they would argue, because that was the need of his time: a female Messiah (and even female apostles) would have been outlandish. But there is no reason that Jesus and his Apostles could not represent feminine aspirations in their own humanity.

One prescient forebear of Ruether and Daly saw no problem in Jesus' manhood. Nor did she seem rattled by masculine pronouns for God. Lady Julian of Norwich, an anchoress who lived in Chaucerian England in the



"She leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for her name's sake."

14th century, laid out her prophetic theology in a book called *Sixteen Revelations of Divine Love*. "God, Almighty, is our kindly Father," wrote Lady Julian. "God, all-Wisdom, is our kindly Mother." As for the Second Person in the Blessed Trinity—the Person incarnated in Jesus Christ—Lady Julian found that he was strongly feminine: "our Mother in kind, in whom we are grounded and rooted. And he is our Mother in Mercy."

Situation Report

THE democratic spirit of Protestantism gave women their first opportunity in the U.S. as preachers, ministers, and even founders of denominations. Mary Baker Eddy started one of the nation's only female-dominated religions, Christian Science; though the denomination has no ordained ministers, a majority of its 5,848 "practitioners," or healers, are women. More recently the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, founded by Aimee Semple McPherson in the 1920s, has followed a similar pattern: today at least 40% of its 2,690 clergy are female.

More traditional denominations of U.S. Protestantism have been slower, but are coming round. U.S. Presbyterians in the North began ordaining women (103 to date) in 1956; Southern Presbyterians (22 so far) followed suit in 1964. Both the Lutheran Church in America and the American Lutheran Church decided to accept women pastors in 1970, and the A.L.C. already has 116 candidates in its seminaries. Equality of opportunity does not necessarily produce a flood of candidates, however. The United Methodist Church gave women full rights to clerical appointment in 1956,

The New Nuns

They dress in everything from miniskirts to medieval mantles. They do everything from classroom teaching to police work. One has a job with Cesar Chavez, another with Ralph Nader. There is a deputy attorney general and an Air Force lieutenant. They live in inner-city slums, in posh suburbs, on farms, even in the desert. They come singly, by the dozen and in battalions. They are the new American nuns who, in the decade since the Second Vatican Council first provided the inspiration, have streamed out of their centuries-old enclosures into the modern world.

The most radical of the new nuns have abandoned their orders to form "noncanonical" experimental communities outside the reach of church authority. But they do not consider themselves "ex-nuns." A free-form, geographically dispersed group (32 states, Canada and England) called Sisters for a Christian Community (S.F.C.C.) was founded in 1970 to "experiment and pioneer new forms of religious life for the 21st century." Essential to the undertaking, says Founding Sister Lilliana Kopp of Portland, Ore., is the elimination of the bureaucratic, authoritarian structures that have driven American nuns out of traditional religious orders by the tens of thousands since the Vatican Council closed

but at the latest count in 1970, only 322 of the church's 34,722 clerics were women.

There are also holdouts. The U.S. Episcopal Church, following a worldwide Anglican move, admits women deacons (83 so far out of a total of 379) but does not yet permit ordination of women priests. Some Anglicans fear that ordaining women might upset ecumenical talks with Roman Catholics, but the Roman Catholic hierarchy is under pressure too. There is active discussion of women deacons for Roman Catholicism, and many Catholic thinkers today see no serious theological objection to women priests—though they will be a long time coming. The rigidly male-dominated Eastern Orthodox churches will doubtless be among the last to capitulate.

Reform Judaism has accepted a handful of female cantors, and will this year have its first woman rabbi: Sally Priesand, 25, who will be ordained in June. But only since World War II have some Conservative Jewish synagogues permitted women to be called to pronounce the blessing over the Torah. Orthodox Judaism does not permit even that, and moreover still decrees that women must sit apart from men in the synagogues.

Probably the best known of the noncanonical communities is a group that broke away from the Immaculate Heart of Mary Sisters in Los Angeles (TIME, Feb. 23, 1970). Today 260 of the original 300 "defectors," as they are called in canon law, remain active. In a bold redefinition of a religious order, they have added to their ranks three married couples and one Protestant woman, who are considered full members of the community and, like the sisters, contribute part of their earnings to a common fund. Says Sister Anita Caspary, the community's moving spirit and the former head of the mother group: "Our own strength and liberation as women came from our past experiences in the Immaculate Heart order, when we were forced to take top administrative roles and do work usually assigned to men in the outside world."

Such breakup groups sometimes shrink or dissolve without a sustaining structure. The Faith Community in St. Louis, which has ties to the S.F.C.C., began with 26 members five years ago, now has seven—yet those are thriving. The sisters, says Spokeswoman Nancy Brossette, found that what they had was not so much a common goal as a common enemy—lack of money, planning and knowledge about how to make it on the outside. Many new nuns share this "re-entry" problem. As one former Dominican puts it: "At first you feel like Henry Adams—between one world that's dead and another that's powerless to be born. But there's also an exhilarating feeling of being on the brink of a new adventure." Some experimental groups disperse

because their members opt for marriage or careers as secular single women. Despite the attrition, there are now at least 50 noncanonical nuns' groups, ranging in membership from three to nearly 300.

Many American nuns have been able to update their life-styles without leaving their orders. Perhaps the most successful are the Sisters of Loretto. Under the leadership of their former mother general, Sister Luke Tobin (the only American nun to attend Vatican II), the Loretto community became the prototype for renewal in American sisterhoods. The Loretto nuns were among the first in the U.S. to modernize their convent schedule and dress—the habit is often exchanged for the civilian garb appropriate to their work—and branch out into professions other than the teaching, nursing or running of orphanages and old-age homes usually associated with sisters. In

1965, a Loretto nun became a full-time executive in the Job Corps. Today some members counsel conscientious objectors and drug addicts, and one advises the Denver city council on public housing.

Like the independent Immaculate Heart Community, the Loretto nuns have broadened their definition of community to include men and married couples as well as non-Catholics. But since the Loretos are still under the authority of Rome, these lay people, called "co-members," take no vows and thus are not officially part of the congregation. The sisters no longer make vows of poverty, chastity and obedience in the old formula, but write their own expressions of dedication, which retain the essence of all three vows. "Poverty," says Sister Luke, "should mean detachment, not dependence. Obedience should be to the needs of people, and to the community, not just to superiors."

Marlboro Country. In addition to the internal reforms being made by many communities similar to the Loretto, U.S. nuns have organized their reform activities in a proliferation of groups that bear a marked similarity to secular Women's Lib federations. The feeling among many sisters, says Jesuit John C. Haughey, an associate editor of *American* magazine, is that the church has been "Marlboro Country as far back as they can see, and will continue to be so as far in the future as they care to look." The organizations include small ethnic groups such as the National Black Sisters' Conference and an association of Spanish-speaking nuns called Las Hermanas. Best known of the larger nuns' groups are the National Assembly of Women Religious (N.A.W.R.), organized in 1970, and the National Coalition of American Nuns (N.C.A.N.), founded by Sister Margaret Traxler in 1969. Sister Traxler's hope: to end "domination by priests, no matter what their hierarchical status" in the internal affairs and renewal of sisters' orders.

Pope Paul VI shows no sign of bending his definition of religious life to accommodate the new nuns. In an exhortation to sisters promulgated last summer, the Pontiff warned against deviations from "the essential commitments" of religious life. Last month the Vatican explicitly forbade nuns to discard "distinctive religious garb" for secular dress. Besides the Pope and many of the all-male hierarchy, some sisters are openly opposed to what they consider the excesses of renewal. About 120 of them have organized their views in a group called *Consortium Perfectae Caritatis* (Association of Perfect Charity). Nevertheless, the new nuns are confident that they are moving with a historical tide. With secessionist Sister Anita Caspary, they maintain that the church "stands to lose the whole community if it stands in the way."



LORETTO NUN COUNSELING C.O.

MEMBERS OF BLACK SISTERS' CONFERENCE
New forms for the 21st century.

in 1965. Since that year, the number of U.S. nuns has dropped from 180,000 to 150,000—far more than can be accounted for by normal attrition. "We must be a pilgrim people on the road, unencumbered by luggage," says Sister Kopp, a sociologist and author, who left her order in 1969. "Marble mother houses are what destroyed the old orders."

The S.F.C.C. has no mother general, much less a mother house, since it owns no real estate. Each sister makes a home for herself, sometimes shared with one or two other members, finds her own job and pays her own taxes. Each writes a private commitment to Christ instead of taking formal vows. None is required to wear a habit or any other religious symbol. Many, however, including Sister Kopp, wear crucifixes or other emblems of the profession.

Marlboro



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With 100 million phones to care for, our fleet now numbers 110,000 trucks.

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1971
Consumer
Price Index
Up 37%

1971
Phone Rates
Up 8%
(C.P.I.)

1961

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AT&T and your local Bell Company.



Up from Coverture

"Equal justice under law," says the famous motto carved into the marble of the United States Supreme Court Building. Those words, according to a number of feminists and to thoughtful legal experts as well, have hardly applied to the American woman.

The legal precedents for discrimination against women date back to the beginnings of Western law itself.* In the classic era of Athens, women fitted approximately the same category as slaves. Early Roman law candidly referred to the "perpetual tutelage of women" and considered them to be under the *manus* (hand) of their fathers or husbands—one basis for the custom of bestowing the "hand" of a daughter in marriage. Though later Roman law began to extend a few rights to women, the coming of the Dark Ages took them back to the status of chattels. Passing through canon law into English common law and thence to the U.S., such a concept supported the classic Blackstone definition of "coverture," a doctrine that has survived in part to this day. Coverture, said Blackstone, means that "husband and wife are one person in the law; that is, the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage."

Consortium. In its most inflexible manifestations, this doctrine has meant, for instance, that a wife must take her husband's name, though she can use her maiden name professionally. Last week, specifically, the Supreme Court upheld a state's right to require a married woman to use her husband's name on her driver's license. Most states allow a husband to sue for loss of consortium if his wife is injured, while only a minority extend a parallel right to the wife when the husband is incapacitated. North Carolina and Missouri even allow a woman to defend herself against a criminal charge by arguing that her husband ordered her to commit the crime.

The husband's favored status does carry responsibilities, of course, chiefly that of supporting his wife and children. Men who have defaulted on their alimony obligations can wind up in jail. While support of children is legally the joint obligation of both parents, the financial part of that duty usually is put upon men after a divorce. (One study of ex-husbands in Wisconsin, however, found that fewer than 40% were making full payment a year after the divorce.) In 42 states there is no longer any specified legal preference on child

custody, though judges tend to favor the mother, particularly for young children.

In divorces, the same grounds are now generally available to each party, and at least twelve states allow the awarding of alimony to either husband or wife. In the eight community-property states, all property acquired during the marriage is considered equally owned and so is equally divided if there is a divorce, but in seven of them the husband has control as head of the "community" during the marriage. In other states, each spouse may manage and own his or her income and property, though eleven states restrict a married woman's right to enter into a contract, and in no state does the law

—nearly 4,000,000—have less than \$1,889 a year to live on, and the Social Security system quite openly discriminates against them. The pension is based on earned income, and "mere" housewives earn nothing during their years of work. Widows are entitled to survivors' benefits, but these are generally lower than a wage earner's pension. And a commercially employed woman generally earns less than a man. Thus all widowed or single women over 65 receive an average of less than \$115 a month in Social Security, compared with an average \$145 for such men. As Ralph Nader has put it, "our society encourages a woman to stay home and take care of her family, and then penalizes her later for not having worked."

The right to employment has caused some of the sharpest controversy. Back in the days of the sweatshops,



SEAMSTRESS & HER BOSS AT WORK IN A NEW YORK SWEATSHOP (1888)

The protective laws won cheers, at least at the time.

credit a wife with income for the household work she does for the family.

The ambiguities in the law's view of family life become even more ambiguous when the law involves the payment of Government funds. About 62% of welfare recipients are women heads of household and their dependent children. Some politicians have enjoyed scolding these helpless people as shiftless idlers, but despite the law's gesture of protectiveness, a woman alone raising children is scarcely loafing. Nor can she do much better by trying to find work, if work exists. One recent study showed that a mother of three, after training for one category of available Government jobs, would gross only an extra \$22 a month—from which she would still have to pay any after-school baby-sitting costs.

The other main group of women who depend largely on Government-administered funds are single or widowed females over 65. Half of them

feminists and some unions argued heatedly for the passage of maximum-hours laws and other protective measures. They won an occasional victory, complete with flourishes of male rhetoric. "The natural and proper timidity and delicacy which belongs to the female sex evidently unfits it for many of the occupations of civil life," the Supreme Court declared in 1872, but it happened to be protecting women by allowing them to be barred from the practice of law.

Nowadays, "protective" measures are often regarded as discriminatory. The rules that prevent women from working late hours or lifting heavy loads take "beautiful care of women." New York's former Congresswoman Katherine St. George has said bitterly, "They cannot serve in restaurants late at night—when tips are higher and the load, if you please, is lighter. But what about the offices that are cleaned every morning about 2 or 3 o'clock? Does

* Women did better under some of the earlier non-European civilizations. In Babylonia, where Hammurabi's code was promulgated around 1700 B.C., women had certain rights to financial support and could engage in business. The Egyptians allowed women considerable control over property.

THE LAW

anybody worry about these women?"

The greatest job problem for women is not a matter of regulations but of intangible and hard-to-prove discrimination in hiring and promotion. Congress began to show its concern with a 1964 act that required equal pay for equal work. Later that year, it went much farther when it barred sex discrimination by employers, employment agencies and unions that affect interstate commerce. But the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which is supposed to enforce the law, has no power to bring suits on its own. Legislation currently pending would change that. "The lack severely handicaps the EEOC," contends Hawaii Congresswoman Patsy Mink. When it cannot get a voluntary change of an apparently discriminatory policy, EEOC must ask the Justice Department to go into court, and it can be turned down. Since 1964, Justice has filed only three sex-discrimination suits—though the Labor Department has prosecuted 330 alleged violations of the law of equal pay for equal work.

Fell Sweep. Individuals are also free to sue, of course, but uncertainties about the various legal recourses, fear of lawyers' fees and the hostility of employers have scarcely encouraged women to fight for their rights. One who did was Mrs. Ida Phillips, who sued the Martin Marietta Corp. in Orlando, Fla., and got the Supreme Court to rule that a woman cannot summarily be barred from employment just because she has preschool children. Another was Mrs. Sally Reed, who challenged an Idaho law giving preference to men as administrators of estates

(TIME, Dec. 6). She won the first Supreme Court ruling that the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment makes "arbitrary" forms of sexual discrimination unconstitutional.

Activists place their greatest hope in the proposed equal rights amendment to the Constitution. Such an amendment has been introduced in every Congress since 1923, and was actually passed by the House in 1970 and 1971. Two weeks ago, the amendment got by yet another hurdle when it was reported out of the Senate Judiciary Committee—for the first time without the addition of any compromising language. It still faces an uncertain future on the floor of the Senate, however.

Women's rights advocates insist that the amendment's wording should allow no compromise, even for military service, because, as Justice Department Lawyer Mary Eastwood has put it, then the amendment "in one fell swoop would require equal treatment of men and women." Equal treatment would not necessarily mean the end of a housewife's legal right to support from her wage-earning husband, but such a benefit would also have to be available to the husband who stays home with the kids while his wife works. In other words, the amendment's backers want the law to operate according to what a person chooses to do and is able to do, rather than according to sex roles.

Even without the amendment, though, strict application of existing law would eventually bring the same result. As Michigan Representative Martha Griffiths says: "There never was a time when decisions of the Supreme Court could not have done everything

we ask today." Thoroughgoing equality under the law would not change every custom and practice, but social change is the more difficult without legal reform. In any case, "the articulation of legal protections for women has begun," says EEOC Legislative Counsel Sonia Pressman Fuentes. "Already women can echo the words of Martin Luther King: 'We ain't what we oughta be, we ain't what we wanta be, we ain't what we gonna be, but thank God we ain't what we was.'"

Two in the Profession

The number of women lawyers is growing, but the newcomers still encounter obstacles and prejudices. To succeed, a woman needs a special measure of brains, energy and determination. Here are two examples:

"I Was Hooked"

A bus driver, visiting Washington to testify in a negligence case, gestured toward a plump, smiling woman in the conference room. "Isn't that Mrs. Murphy?" he asked warily. "She put me on the stand in Boston. She smiled sweetly at me and then... pow!"

The remark illustrates the style of Mrs. Betty Southard Murphy, 41, mother of two, candidate for general counsel of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and a first-rate labor lawyer. She is quiet in manner and conservative in appearance (little makeup or jewelry), but her energy and competence have brought her a nationwide reputation and a \$40,000 income in a highly competitive field.

She remembers that her mother

Situation Report

COURTS. There is not, and never has been, a woman Justice on the Supreme Court. Only one of the nine Justices, Thurgood Marshall, has a woman as his clerk (she is Barbara Underwood, the fourth woman to hold such a post). Among the 97 federal appeals court judges, California's Shirley Hufstader is the only woman. All but four of the 402 federal district court judges are men. Of the total of about 10,000 judges in all courts throughout the U.S., only some 200 are women.

GOVERNMENT. The figures are much the same for female attorneys in other areas of government. No federal agency has ever had a woman as general counsel, and no state has a woman as attorney general. The 93 district attorneys in the federal service are all men.

TRAINING. This situation may change as more women go to law school. The 8,680 women studying law in 1971 constituted 9.3% of the total number of law students—an increase from 3.6% in 1960. Contrary to the popular stereotype, one study of women law graduates over a period of 17 years showed that 84% remained in the profession, more than half of them in private practice. On the other hand, less than 12% of them were making more than \$20,000 as compared to 50% of the men.

All in all, the U.S. has about 9,000 women lawyers—up a mere 1% since 1948—representing 2.8% of the total of 325,000. This hardly compares with such foreign countries as West Germany, where even a decade

ago 33% of the lawyers were women, or Russia, where the figure was 36%. Nor have women yet reached positions of leadership in their professional organizations. The American Bar Association has never had a woman as president, and there are no women on the A.B.A. board of governors.

LAW ENFORCEMENT. In this area women are more the enforcers against than the enforcers. The first five female agents for the Secret Service are only now in training, and there are no plans for any female FBI agent, though two young women have brought action to achieve that distinction. Across the country, women make up an estimated 1.5% of the police forces, mainly in low-ranking positions. New York's Gertrude Schimmel, on becoming the city's first woman police captain last summer (she has since been promoted to deputy inspector), was asked if she ever expected to see a woman appointed police commissioner. She answered: "Only by the first woman mayor."

CRIME. Crime by females is increasing. In 1970 rates of robbery (up 187.9% over 1960), burglary (133.8%) and auto theft (133%) are all going up faster among women than among men. In absolute terms, women still commit far fewer serious crimes than do men (215,614 arrests of women to 1,058,169 for men in 1970), and that makes the rate of increase more striking. The percentage of females in federal and state prisons is therefore still small (3 to 4%), but three of the notables on the FBI's list of twelve "most-wanted" fugitives are women.

was determined to have her enter a profession. "Mother said, 'When you educate a man, you educate an individual. When you educate a woman, you educate a family.'" After graduating from Ohio State, she shipped off aboard a Norwegian freighter as a dishwasher, worked and studied in Paris, and finally financed her way home via Africa, the Middle East and Asia by writing 200 newspaper articles along the way. Back in the States, she tried to become a reporter but could find nothing better than taking telephone dictation for United Press International in Washington. She began attending American University Law School at night. "Right away, I was hooked on the law," she says. "I still am."

Hard Work. After 18 months in the enforcement division of the National Labor Relations Board, she went into private practice, began specializing in labor, equal employment, libel and immigration law, and eventually she joined the firm of Wilson, Woods & Vil-lon. She became a full partner in 1970, and now represents five international unions and more than a dozen corporations. Says a partner, Warren Woods: "Her success is due mainly to damned hard work."

In 1965, Betty Southard married Dr. Cornelius F. Murphy, a specialist in nuclear medicine and a professor of radiology at George Washington, but they remain independent spirits. At one point, Dr. Murphy asked her advice on a legal question, then rejected the advice she gave. "He's the only male client I've ever had trouble with," Mrs. Murphy remarks. They have a daughter, aged four, and a son, three, and their highly organized schedule permits little social life. They leave their home in Annandale, Va., before the children are awake, entrusting them to a live-in housekeeper until they return, again together, for supper.

Giving birth twice caused Mrs. Murphy to miss a total of only three working weeks. The chief attorney for

WASHINGTON'S BETTY SOUTHARD MURPHY



U.S. Senator Thomas Dodd complained in open court: "Your Honor, it is difficult at best to argue against a woman attorney. But to argue against a woman attorney who is going to have a baby in ten days is downright unfair." Mrs. Murphy was capable as well as pregnant, and Dodd subsequently lost his libel suit against Columnists Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson.

No woman has ever been general counsel of a federal agency, but the name of Mrs. Murphy, a Republican, was among the final six considered for the post of NLRB general counsel last spring. Her failure to get the position, she says, was her first real taste of discrimination. "A friend told me, 'You'd better get some help from the women's groups. Your opponents are using your sex against you,'" she recalls. Since then, Mrs. Murphy has joined a number of women's business and professional organizations. She has been trying for another general-counsel position, this time with the EEOC, but she has doubts about her prospects. "One top Government official told me he could visualize a woman on the Supreme Court, but he couldn't see a woman general counsel. That's regarded as the hot seat."

"Sure I Use My Sex"

When Paulette LeBost graduated from Wayne State Law School in 1967, she applied for a job with a small firm named Golden & Elconin. Richard Elconin, who interviewed her in the absence of his vacationing partner, told her that she would be hired at \$75 per week for two years and \$10,000 annually thereafter. Miss LeBost excitedly told her friends and family about the job. Then she received a letter from Elconin:

"Mr. Golden seems to have a strong belief that any woman would scare away new clients and cause existing clients to lose confidence. . . . We have a reputation of 'fighting for our clients,' and women are not generally categorized as being pugilistically inclined."

Although she now admits that "that letter has left some deep scars," Miss LeBost never looked back. She joined the Wayne County Neighborhood Legal Services agency, and for four years specialized in suits against slum landlords. Then in January, she and two professional colleagues formed Detroit's first all-woman law firm. The venture is successful in all respects; a substantial number of clients, including four labor unions; an offer to teach a university course on women in law; numerous requests for speeches. Lawyer LeBost thinks she may make \$15,000 this year, and that's only a start.

The attractive daughter of a Detroit real estate developer, Paulette LeBost entered law school (as one of 20 women in a class of 300) after only three years at Marygrove College and Wayne State. "It was such a horrible



DETROIT'S PAULETTE LeBOST
An all-woman firm.

experience," she says. "The whole attitude was condescending. We needed to gather in the ladies' room to cheer each other up and escape from the 'What's a nice girl like you doing in law school?' At the time, if you brought up sex discrimination, people laughed. Now the women rip those notes to 'Gentlemen' right off the bulletin boards."

During her first days in court, a judge assumed she was a legal secretary; when she stepped up to the bench, he asked where her boss was. Another judge, accustomed to male attorneys, mistook her for a mental patient and started to have her committed before she identified herself. "At least that incident ended with both sides laughing," she says. "Most do not."

So Cute. Still another judge became angry when Miss LeBost took exception to his procedural rulings, and the two shouted at each other in court. "He tried to get me fired from Legal Services," she recalls. "Then later he told my boss that he didn't really have anything against me but would like to have lunch with me some time because I was so cute."

Mixing social and professional life is a problem for Paulette LeBost, a reddish-blond who wears both hair and skirts short. "Damn right I hold other attorneys at arm's length," she says. "If I accepted every courtroom invitation to lunch, I'd be fat as a cow. And it's hard to hit that margin of professional friendliness without crossing over into sexual overtones."

On the other hand, she acknowledges that she is not above smiling prettily when she finds a long waiting line in the court clerk's office. "The clerk starts to flirt, and before you know it you're not last in line any more," she says. "Sure I use my sex. It's been a detriment so many times, I might as well use it when it's an advantage."

How Women's Lib Looks to the Not-So-Mad Housewife

*Career women and college girls have been far more active in the liberation movement than the housewives who long ago made their personal commitments "for better or for worse." But it is clear by now that many of them too, from time to time, are caught up by the cause. To capture the feelings of some of them, at least, TIME turned to Sue Kaufman, wife, mother, and author of *Diary of a Mad Housewife*, a novel (and later film) that early sounded the tocsin of domestic alarm.*

SHE will admit, under slight pressure, that she has never really cared for the epithet "male chauvinist pig"; though she tried it on for size a few times, and though she felt a certain heady sensation of power while using it, she has come to see that it is not really her style. She has had two abortions, both premarital and illegal, and she sends contributions to organizations like the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition—but, enclosed with her check is a request that her name be withheld from the printed list of donors. She reads Sylvia Plath's poetry because she loves poetry and thinks that Sylvia Plath is an extraordinary poet; she finds it particularly exasperating that Sylvia Plath should be made into a heroine of Women's Lib, since it seems to her that there is nothing heroic about a poor, tormented, brilliant woman who was driven by the terrible inner pressures of her own psyche—not the pressures of the feminine role—to kill herself. She bristles whenever she hears the term lady editor, lady painter, lady doctor, lady lawyer; they are, she will insist with quiet fury, editors or painters or doctors or lawyers who also happen to be women. Active, dedicated women—and lucky ones, she will often silently tack on.

She is anywhere from 25 to 45—a wife, a mother, a housewife. She is usually far from mad (crazy or angry), far from being wildly bitter—but also far from being satisfied with what or where she is. Though she isn't too clear on where she would rather be, she knows it isn't up there on the big, steamrolling bandwagon of Women's Lib, or in the front ranks of the marching phalanx, waving banners. Much as she admires them.

And she does admire them. Shirley, Florynce, Bella, Betty, Gloria, Germaine, Kate. And when one of them comes to town, she will arrange, often with great difficulty, to go and hear her speak. She will make the com-

plicated arrangements for the sitter to come and cover the home front for her and "liberate" her for a few hours. (This is the context in which that word is mainly used in her life.)

She will go, usually with friends. They will arrive at the hall, the auditorium, the community center, take their seats—and slowly it will begin to happen. The extraordinary thing. The thing they have really come for, the speeches aside. The thing the speeches generate, but which takes on a life of its own. For as she sits and listens, she begins to feel the flickers and currents of a mass communion, a rising sense of excitement that she imagines parallels what one feels at a

CURTIS BROWN



AUTHOR SUE KAUFMAN

No more blasts of the horn.

revival meeting. She doesn't get up and cry "Right On!" (which she suspects is already passé) like the girl down front, she doesn't hop up and shout "Yes, sister, yes!" But she feels this powerful thing happening, this sweeping, surging, gathering-up-momentum feeling of intense camaraderie, solidarity movement. Action. Yes, sister, yes. All of which is pretty damned strange—she has never been much of a one for sisterly activities, and she largely disagrees with what it seems to her the voices from the platform are suggesting: she is not ready to turn it all around, to start again. Yet here, among her own—kind? Yes, kind—she feels the sweep of mass identification, feels the sense of rightness, shared protectiveness: we are all birds of a feather. This is the way, the path. And yet.

Yet, after the meeting has dispersed, after the ball is over, and the sense of excitement and communion

begins to dim, she climbs into her car, station wagon, Land Rover, bus, taxi—and goes home. And it hits her. She arrives home to pay the sitter or what-have-you, to take over the children, to keel the pot like greasy Joan, to put the kettle on like Polly, to take up the reins of her existence. Only—something is wrong.

She is overwhelmed by a terrible sense of wrongness, of jarring inconsistency. There was that surging, powerful feeling in the hall, and now, stranded on the linoleum under the battery of fluorescent kitchen lights, there is this terrible sense of isolation, of walls closing in, of being trapped. It doesn't compute. Something in her calculations is wrong. She stands there, with a sense of being too late, passed by, stuck—but she doesn't burst into tears. The days of weeping are over. In spite of the desolation she feels, she knows that she is not alone; there has company and they are legion. There is enormous comfort in knowing that. And knowing that is one of the big changes in her life.

There have been many other changes. Perhaps the most important is that she has learned to speak up without the fear (yes, it was a fear) of being called a ballbuster, an aggressive or castrating female (the counterpart tag of male chauvinist pig). She has also learned to assert herself, insist on certain rights—mostly around the house, true, but that's where, after all, she spends most of her time. She asks—does not demand—that her children, her husband pitch in, share some of the trivial drudgery: she swears that gone are the days when, the country weekend over, the rest of the family sat out in the car waiting for her to pack up the last carvill and check the last stove burner, giving her an occasional impatient blast on the horn. The result of all this asserting herself has been a new awareness in the others: she is somebody to be reckoned with. It has made a change in her husband: he is more available to discussion, even argument, more willing to listen, even give way. He hasn't—and isn't about to—become an apron-tied caricature, a grocery-lugging, mop-wielding, cooking-and-diapering paragon, but he can now see the Victorian darkness overshadowing her days, can see that time is of the essence, for her, as well as for himself. The long hours in front of the brilliant panorama of the Rose Bowl still go on, but they can be interrupted. Perhaps it is because of exposure to her more militant sisters in the press or on TV, but

he is more willing to listen and often concedes that she is right.

He is now even willing to concede that, as she has long asserted, there are men who don't like women, hostile men, and he listens soberly when she adds something new to her assertion: *she will no longer tolerate them*. In her house, or any other phase of her life. This is really an avowal, and other smaller ones have followed in its wake. For instance, she has begun to think about the necessity of financial independence: if she has, or earns, no money of her own, she has begun to think about a job, part-time now, full-time later. If she has money of her own, she has begun to ask questions about separate bank accounts, separate tax returns. Though she is not about to chuck the whole setup, she now acknowledges that the day may come when she does want to chuck it for valid reasons and, except in the case of a deep grudge that would need satisfaction, she does not want the decision to rest on her eligibility for a monthly alimony check. She does not want to be dependent on a monthly alimony check.

But most likely she will not divorce. At least not casually, and certainly not for any principle or idea. Moreover, she likes, or loves, her children, and though they are often a terrible drain on her emotions and strength, she is simply not prepared to delegate most of their care to someone else. She also likes, or loves, her husband, and though she is no longer willing to put up with anything she considers an infringement on her rights or dignity, she is not about to blow up the whole works by refusing to do what was contracted at the onset of her marriage, namely Women's Work—which covers everything from enduring labor pains to counting laundry. Though that is the nasty hooker—that so much should ever have become, way back, Women's Work exclusively—the hard fact is that it did. And the other hard fact is that no one, including her sisters in sodality, has figured out a way of reversing history, of turning it all around in a way that would work. Moreover, much as she loathes much of Women's Work, she likes some of it too, reactionary as it seems. And she isn't someone who thinks she can have her cake and eat it too. On the contrary, she knows all too well that everything in this world has its price. If she's ready to break the commitment, then she has to pay that price. Actually, this constant self-evaluation, this weighing of prices to be paid for one thing or another, is, like the experience in the hall, one of the important changes in her life: a short while back it would never have occurred to her to ask if the price was right. At all.

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Myths of "Sensibility"

According to one legend, the art of painting was invented by a Greek potter's daughter, who traced the shadow of her swain's profile by candlelight on a cave wall. In the centuries since then, the opposite view of sexual roles in art has prevailed—namely, that the heights of creation are inaccessible to women, whose misfortune it is to possess something called a "feminine sensibility." This is largely a fantasy, akin to the one found in literature (see Books). But every woman artist at work today still has to contend with it.

For all we know, the Pyramids might have been designed by women, and the Bayeux tapestry almost certainly was; but ever since art history began to be systematically written, its heroes have all been men. From Praxiteles through Michelangelo to Cézanne and Matisse, the sex of Western genius never varies. Where were the great women artists? Silence. "The fact of the matter is," argued Art Historian Linda Nochlin in a brilliant essay for *Art News*, "that there have been no supremely great women artists, although there have been many interesting and good ones; nor have there been any great Lithuanian jazz pianists, nor Eskimo tennis players, no matter how much we might wish there had been."

No chauvinist conspiracy of art historians was needed to keep major women artists from emerging, for the social conditions of art practice since the Renaissance have ensured that they had very little chance. Women were excluded from the artists' guilds of the 15th and 16th centuries, and later from the academies. Until the end of the 19th century, they were forbidden to draw from the nude in art schools, a crippling prohibition since the human figure remained the basis of "high art."

Branded. It is barely an exaggeration to say that by 1900 women had no visual culture they could call their own. Only two art activities were left to them. Well brought-up girls could do small watercolors, which were considered signs of "accomplishment," like a precarious tinkling on the pianoforte. Poorer girls, on the other hand, could make craft objects like pots or quilts. But such craftwork was also by reigning definition not high art. Since women's talent had been deprived of a social context in which it could make art, there was no problem in branding it as minor by nature.

Hence the myth of feminine sensibility. It is not so much an idea as a rendezvous for a flock of adjectives: sweet, refined, minor, sensitive, nuanced, emotional, lyrical, pastel, and so on. The opposite list would be the fa-

vorite lexicon of praise for most New York painting since 1950, the attributes of the *macho* masterpiece: harsh, brusque, major, obsessive, direct, intellectual, tragic, primary. The result of the stereotype is an ingrained reluctance to take women artists as seriously as men.

It took 40 years' work in comparative obscurity before Alice Neel—now 64—won some recent recognition as one of the few artists capable of preserving the expressionist portrait as a live form (as in *The Family*, 1971). If an artist like Georgia O'Keeffe, Helen Frankenthaler, or Louise Nevelson manages, by pro-



NANCY GROSSMAN'S "MARY," 1971
Armor and prison.

longed and single-minded concentration on work, to annul the prejudice against women, it is assumed that she has "transcended the limits" of her sexual class. Thus Nevelson's austere and formidable constructions like *Black Crescent*, in the very act of "escaping" the stereotype, may confirm it for others. As Art Critic Barbara Rose points out in a recent book on Helen Frankenthaler, her work was routinely patronized for its "feminine" qualities: "Judged by the norms . . . of the prevailing de Kooning style that Frankenthaler rejected, her art was seen as reckless, thin, uncontrolled, uncompensated, lacking in impact, and too sweet in color." Today, it is possible to see her best work as a triumph of sensuous integration: that iron sweetness, that blooming and expansive surge of color, is unequalled among living American artists.

Femininity, to some nostrils, is a kind of scent that gets left on the

work of art by skin contact. Sometimes it is a matter of technique: if Canadian-born Joyce Wieland executes a series of tenderly ironic icons of her native landscape, like *Spring Tree*, 1971, and does them by quilting, sewing and stuffing various cloths, it will inevitably be related to the small world of the sewing box; whereas if Claes Oldenburg sews and stuffs, it must be for other reasons.

Fatuous. The truth seems to be that there is no way, iconographic, stylistic or other, to tell the sex of an artist by looking at her or his work. Who was more "feminine" in paint handling, Renoir or Sonia Delaunay? In terms of the stereotype, the answer would have to be Renoir. It is easy, once one has seen the name of Joan Snyder affixed to her recent painting *Smashed Strokes Hope*, 1972, to attribute a feminine sensibility to those glowing, flecked, dispersed blotches and runs of green, gold and crimson. But when this painting is set alongside other recent abstracts by (male) New York artists, the distinction is fatuous: Snyder's work concedes nothing to them in strength, decisiveness and pictorial intelligence. So, too, with Patricia Steir's *Blue*, and the work of a dozen other young women artists: Nancy Graves, Lynda Benglis, Rosemarie Castoro, Dorothea Rockburne, and so on.

The first dialogue of art is always with other art. Hence the desire of most women who make art to be known as artists first and only incidentally as women. "To be put in any category not defined by one's work," states Portraitist Elaine de Kooning, "is to be falsified." Eva Hesse, the brilliantly gifted German-born sculptor who died two years ago of a brain tumor at the age of 34, is a case in point: her work belonged, and contributed on exactly level terms, to the kind of antiformalist direction in American sculpture that Robert Morris' felt pieces and Carl Andre's floor sculpture also represented.

At the same time, one can see in the art of some women sensations and emotions which are very much part of the darker side of their experience: Nancy Grossman's leather-bound heads, for instance, are veritable nightmares of repression. "The work is me, my experience," says Grossman. "Everyone is a sado-masochist. The difference between me and other artists is that I admit it." So her masks, like *Mary*, 1971, are both armor and prison; the face and the implied personality behind it are abolished by the protective skin.

The debate over what is (and what is not) a female experience as distinct from feminine sensibility will no doubt go on for years, especially among the more politically committed women artists; and no doubt it will produce its abundant quota of bad, programmatic ideological illustration. No matter. The important thing is that the assumed



Dying Stereotypes; New Vigor

The output of some American artists is refuting, more and more, the stereotyped idea that women tend to overrefinement and insipid grace in painting and sculpture. On these pages, a sampling; above, the vigorously stained and modeled brush marks of Joan Snyder's *Smashed Strokes*, Hope, 1972. At left, Louise Nevelson's imposing sculptural wall, *Black Crescent*, 1971, with its groups of carved, fluted columnar shapes gathered in dark boxes. Below, *Schema*, a soft piece of latex with equal rows of rubber knobs set on it by Sculptor Eva Hesse.



EVA HESSE



Top left, *Spring Tree*, 1971, a sewn and stuffed hanging by Canadian-born Artist Joyce Wieland. Top right, the faces of veteran Portraitist Alice Neel's *The Family*, 1971, are caught in the abrupt, summary marks of her brush. Above, Helen Frankenthaler's *Chairman of the Board*, 1971, suggests a pastoral expansiveness in its floating, sunny drifts of acrylic. At right, Patricia Steir's *Blue*, 1971, conjures up images of flight and release: cloud-tossed sky and a bird.





A



B



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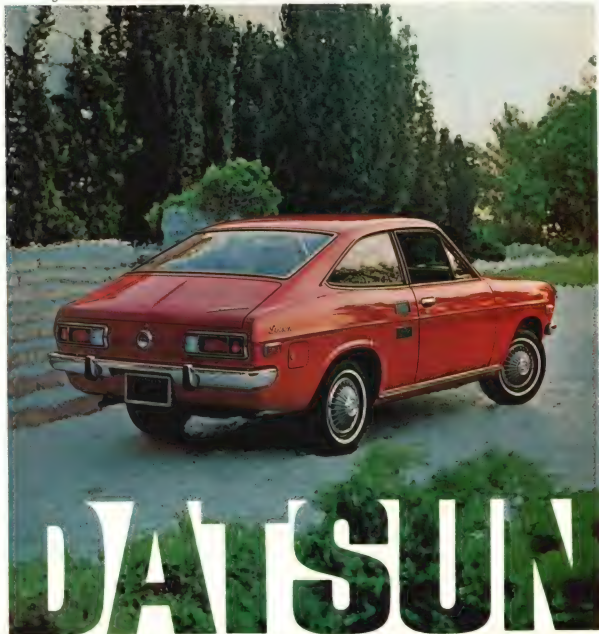
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FROM NISSAN WITH PRIDE



INSIDE WOMANHOUSE: "SHEET CLOSET"

A housewife trapped amidst the laundry and the "Womb Room" before disappearing into the gray woodwork.



MANIKIN ON "BRIDAL STAIRCASE"



EGG FANTASY IN "NURTURING KITCHEN"

A housewife trapped amidst the laundry and the "Womb Room" before disappearing into the gray woodwork.

imbalance of talent in the visual arts has begun to alter, and that Virginia Woolf's sadly true remark, "'Anonymous' was a woman," may not describe the future. ■ Robert Hughes

Bad-Dream House

Armed with power tools, paintbrushes and lifetimes of female experience, 26 women artists transformed an old Los Angeles mansion into a bad-dream house and opened it last month to the public. Before it was dismantled to make way for an apartment building, some 4,000 people traipsed through the 17-room creation; many more toured it via television, and will eventually do so again through film. From the outside, "Womanhouse" looked like a home. Inside, however, the feminist art program of the California Institute of the Arts had arranged an exhibit that proved to be a mausoleum, in which the images and illusions of generations of women were

embalmed along with their old nylons and spike-heeled shoes.

Womanhouse interiors were not designed to please. "These are very clear images of woman's situation expressed as works of art," said Judy Chicago, the program's co-founder. "In essence you walk into female reality and are forced to identify with women." Thus the linen closet showed a manikin housewife trapped amidst the laundry; and the "Womb Room" consisted of a thicket of fibers that drooped, in Chicago's words, "like an exhausted uterus." In the flesh-colored kitchen, fried eggs made from sponge were stuck to the walls and ceiling, and some of them were transmuted into human breasts—all demonstrating what their creator called "the imprisonment of the female in a nurturing role."

Chicago's partner, Abstract Painter Miriam Schapiro, explained that they were trying to dramatize women in real life, "not as the object of male art." Accordingly, the makers of the

dream house dressed the front half of a manikin bride in white satin and posed her triumphantly at the head of the staircase. Their tableau extended to the bottom of the stairs, where the rear half of the bride disappeared into the gray woodwork, carrying her dashed dreams with her into oblivion.

The feminist art program, the first in the country, offers courses in female art history taught by women for women only. But the first step in creating an audience for feminist art is to attract people to see it, and Womanhouse performed that function. "People who don't go to art galleries feel comfortable about coming to a house, and a lot of them went away very moved," says Chicago. They were particularly struck by a tableau in which a real woman sat in a heavily perfumed bedroom, methodically applying and removing makeup, over and over again. Said one of the contributing artists: "Old ladies just stood here and wept while they watched her."

Situation Report

WOMEN artists have been given a rough time. The crime has not been discrimination but a lack of perception." So says Thomas Hoving, director of New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art. Women today constitute about 75% of the art school students; for those who go on to become professional artists, the road is hard.

THE GALLERIES. In Manhattan, the leading art marketplace, the 100 principal modern art galleries represent about 1,000 artists. Of these, 20% are women. Last month a survey of commercial galleries across the nation showed only 18% displaying works by women.

MUSEUM COLLECTIONS. A sale to a museum is the mark of acceptance in the art world. In New York City, the Metropolitan Museum's collection of contemporary art includes 10% by women. At the Museum of Modern Art, women provide 9% of the collection; at Washington's Corcoran Gallery 6%.

MUSEUM EXHIBITIONS. In its 43-year history, the Museum of Modern Art has mounted 1,000 one-artist exhibits. Only five were by women. At the Whitney, eight out of 129 one-artist shows in the last decade were by women, and at the Corcoran, there were four women out of 80. Of 52 such shows at the Los Angeles County Museum, none has been by a woman.

SURVEYS. The survey shows held by some museums are catalysts for new talent. At the 1969 Whitney Painting Annual, 6% of the artists were women. This year the figure rose to 24%. Last year's Corcoran Biennial had no women among 21 artists; the 1971 Young Los Angeles Artists show had three women out of 24.

ARCHITECTURE. Women architects have fared even worse than painters. Only 6% of the students in architecture schools are women, and only 1% of the members of the American Institute of Architects.

In art, of course, statistics are not so important as the quality of talent, but it is hard to believe that women are as untalented as the statistics imply.

THE THEATER

The Faces of Eve

Helmert: *Before everything else you're a wife and a mother.*

Nora: *I don't believe that any longer. I believe that before everything else I'm a human being, just as much as you are—or at any rate I shall try to become one.*

Nearly a century has gone by since Ibsen's *A Doll's House*, and Nora's challenge has not been met in the theater. Ibsen himself could have writ-

ten a sequel that began with Nora slamming the door and journeying forth to mold her destiny. Ibsen never wrote that play, and no modern playwright has made a serious attempt at it. Instead, women have been perceived as types—almost anything but the full human being Nora craved to become. Women characters fare no better at the hands of female playwrights, and even authors who respect women have trouble treating them as people.

Ibsen's ardent disciple, Shaw, saw women as serene, witty goddesses of reason, but he usually defined them solely by their relationships to men. Candida's final choice is to stay with the bumbling preacher husband who needs her rather than flee with the fiery bohemian poet who can fend for himself. There are exceptions. St. Joan wins martyrdom, and Major Barbara wins control of a munitions empire, both rather atypical social pursuits. And that tells us something. Drama is a reflexive, not an innovative art form, and a playwright can rarely advance much beyond the boundaries that society has reached in its consensus of values and acceptable roles.

Bonds That Chafe. The coming of World War II brought formidable changes in every area of social life, especially in the role of women. Entering the work force in massive numbers, they became visible—if not equal—competitors with men. Achieving an increasing degree of economic autonomy, many women found that marriage bonds that chafed could be snapped more easily than before. Meanwhile, Freud had become a household god, and the composition of the new trinity was the id, the ego and the superego. Armchair analysts lolled under many latitudinarian banners—Jung, Adler, Reich, Stekel, Krafft-Ebing, Sacher-Masoch and even the Marquis de Sade. What all of this generated was an unprecedented inquiry into the nature and needs of women as sexual beings.

Much of the drama of the past quarter-century has fostered and focused on images of woman that stress her competitive stance and her sexual behavior—aggressive, passive or inhibited. Naturally these categories sometimes overlap, and they are rarely the sole concern of any serious playwright. Yet a number of image patterns persist and recur, forming a kind of psychograph of the way women are viewed in modern drama:

AS PRAYING MANTIS. After sexual congress, the female of this particular species devours the male. Dramatically, such a woman is a Venus's-flytrap, a castrating bitch who almost invariably renders the man sexually or psychically

impotent. It is regarded as her demonic purpose to do so.

This image of woman was distilled in a title when Arthur Kopit wrote *O Dad, Poor Dad, Mama's Hung You in the Closet and I'm Feelin' So Sad*. Despite ample surrealistic high links, such as having poor dead Dad fall out of the closet as stiff as an ironing board, the underlying tone of the play is lethally bitter. The adolescent hero is in the steely grip of a domineering supermom, and when a lupine nymphomaniac attempts to seduce him, the scene more resembles cannibalism than sex. His only destiny seems to be Dad's closet.

Among contemporary dramatists, Edward Albee has displayed some of the most seething animosity toward women. In *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*, Martha pours molten lava of abuse and contempt over her professor-husband George, both privately and publicly. Though he does the same to her, she has clearly emasculated him even before the action begins. Then she tries to cuckold him in their own house with his younger colleague, but in her arms the colleague, too, proves impotent. "I am the Earth Mother," she brays. "You're all flops."

In *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*, adapted from Ken Kesey's novel, a woman is used as the symbolic agent of a vindictively oppressive social system. The autocratic nurse who orders the rebel hero of the asylum lobotomized is intellectually presented as conformity's tool in crushing individualists. The emotional line of the play, however, suggests that the hero's real crime is *machismo*. He is, in effect, being castrated by a neurotic, starved spinster in an acute fit of penis envy.

AS TEMPTRESS. The Judeo-Christian tradition and its offshoot, puritanism, run very deep in Western culture. By the preconceptions of this mentality, Eve is the initial occasion of sin. While women frequently seem like supernumeraries in Arthur Miller's plays, the preface to his distinctly autobiographical drama *After the Fall* is revelatory. He writes: "After all, the infraction of Eve is that she opened up the knowledge of good and evil. She presented Adam with a choice." The sin then seems to be Eve's, and Adam, we are to assume, would have been better off without a choice, better off alone. The temptress figure in *After the Fall* is Maggie, patterned on Marilyn Monroe. Desperate and drug-addicted, she says to the Quentin-Miller hero: "All I am is love. And sex. Whyn't you lie on me?" Replies the fastidious puritan: "It degrades me."

In an article titled "The Bald Primaqueera,"* which blasted the theaters of cruelty and the absurd, Sean O'Ca-

* The phrase is an O'Casey word play on the title of Ionesco's *The Bald Soprano*, known in England as *The Bald Prima Donna*. He aimed it at absurdists whose reputations he considered inflated.



BARBARA LODEN IN "AFTER THE FALL"

BARBARA STREISAND IN "WHOLESALE"



sey offered his view of the source of this sense of degradation: "It was Artaud—the latest trumpeter of the Primaqueers—or one of his brethren, who gave us a picture of a beautiful girl, naked, with a malignant tarantula spider between her lovely thighs." In Harold Pinter's work, the temptress/tarantula becomes the slut/mother. The theme is developed with the greatest finesse in *The Homecoming*. Ruth and her husband Teddy come home to England to visit Teddy's widowed father, his two brothers and an uncle, who all live under the same roof. Ruth is enigmatically cool but she crosses and recrosses her legs, and her role as the sexual aggressor is established in one line of dialogue over a glass of water. "If you take the glass," she says to Teddy's pimp brother, "I'll take you." When the pimp suggests that she become a part-time professional prostitute and "mother" the family, she strikes a crafty financial bargain and accedes. Only the father is struck by a final spasm of dread: "She'll use us, she'll make use of us. I can tell you! I can smell it! . . . She won't be adaptable."

The women in Tennessee Williams' plays are often temptresses, but they are also more complicated creatures partly because Williams is almost religiously obsessed with the duality of the flesh and the spirit, and partly because he has an abiding concern for the violated heart. Many of his women spend an amazing amount of stage time in negligence, a provocation and an invitation to the bed. The widow Maxine Faulk (the surname is scarcely subtle) comes onstage in *The Night of the Iguana* with her blouse enticingly unbuttoned. Yet Hannah Jelkes in the same play is a stalwart saint of duty who has clearly transcended sex and is presented as a human being of nobility. Maggie the Cat is a tigerish temptress in *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*, though her prey is her husband, whom she is trying to lure away from alcohol and his homosexual leanings. An evil temptress is rich, aging Flora Golphin in *The Milk Train Doesn't Stop Here Anymore*, who tries to corrupt and seduce a young wanderer with a knapsack who may possibly be Christ.

Williams has said, "I was brought up puritanically. I try to outrage that puritanism." As a dramatist, he sometimes practices a reverse puritanism by preaching salvation through the big stud. This holy devil can redeem parched, inhibited and neurotic women, but those who do not avail themselves of his service, like shy, straitlaced Alma Winemiller in *Summer and Smoke*, seal their doom.

The big studs are the exception and not the rule; in modern drama, the temptress holds sway. Compounded of many elements, the image of the woman as temptress contains one that may possibly be paramount. It is the



ARTHUR HILL & UTA HAGEN TRADING ABUSE IN "VIRGINIA WOOLF"
Pouring molten lava on feckless men.

fantasy of a relatively passive male who would like the woman to take the sexual initiative or even requires her to do so. Few writers have caught that particular aspect with the exactitude of a speech in British playwright E.A. Whitehead's *Alpha Beta*, a corrosive drama about a married pair that death would do well to part. The two characters, Mr. and Mrs. Elliot, are quite past the point of sleeping with each other, but in her proprietary way Mrs. Elliot wonders aloud if Mr. Elliot would consider sleeping with someone else. He answers: "I suppose . . . it is conceivable that if I were relaxing at a party . . . and I saw this angelic young dolly across the room . . . And she was looking at me . . . gazing at me, with an expression of rapture in her peerless eyes . . . and she wandered across to me, and addressed herself to me, and plied me with drinks and innocent flattery . . . and lured me upstairs to some remote bedroom . . . and unbuttoned her dress with trembling fingers . . . and drew me down onto the bed . . . murmuring her demure desire and then stuffed her tit in my mouth and her hand down my trousers . . . I believe I might succumb."

AS CLOWN AND WAIF. This is the particular province of the U.S. musical theater. Every female superstar launched on the American stage in the past decade has been cast as a clown or a waif. Barbra Streisand made her Broadway debut as the office-girl clown, Miss Marmelstein, in *I Can Get It for You Wholesale*, and graduated to the Fanny Brice clown in *Funny Girl*. Liza Minnelli enjoyed her first solid success as a waif in *Flora, the Red Menace*, and has now gone on to fame as Sally Bowles, the waif of waifs in the film *Cabaret*. *I Am a Camera*, the nonmusical version of *Cabaret*, starred Julie Harris who had already qualified in *The Member of the Wedding* as the quintessential American waif. Carol Burnett gawked and geeked her way onstage

in *Once Upon a Mattress* and went on to become one of TV's clowning glories. Gwen Verdon was the gamine waif of both *Redhead* and *Sweet Charity*, and Audrey Hepburn was a winsome wailing as *Gigi*.

The popularity of these characters is related to that of the golden-hearted whore. She exists to be laughed at, to please, to flatter, and she accepts the role of an inferior through self-deprecation. Make no mistake. She possesses spunk, stamina and endurance, but she lacks the strength of parity. She can pose no threat to the male. Instead she invites his strong protective arm, defusing the competitive antagonisms aroused by equal rights and countervailing power. Interestingly enough, a musical sans clowns or waifs like *Follies*, which tries to treat mature women in a mature way, encounters substantial audience resistance. The show's actresses are seasoned by age, skill and valiance; *Follies* celebrates women who have learned to sift the grain of truth from the chaff of illusion, and the paths to its box office windows are now only half-beaten. What better evidence that the theater cannot profess a maturity that its audiences do not possess?

Follies, of course, is not completely alone in departing from stereotyped women. The most interesting current exception is *Viva! Viva! Reginald*. Whatever their fates, Robert Bolt's Elizabeth I and Mary Stuart retain an emotional and intellectual autonomy by which their hearts, their minds and their destinies, however tormented or thwarted, rest primarily within their own control. They are their own women, in the way in which it has been customary to say, "He is his own man." Ironically, Bolt has to drop back 400 years in history to find such women. Surely, Ibsen must have intuited that the day would arrive when some playwright would see every woman as her own woman. When that happens, we will all learn what happened after Nora slammed the door.

■ T.E. Kolem

JOBS

Slow Gains at Work

U.S. women are seeking a new role in society at least partly because in recent years millions of them have gone out and found one in the economy—as paid workers. Close to half (44%) of all women over 16 now are in the work force, v. just over a quarter (27%) who chose to have a job in 1940. When the Internal Revenue Service recently revised wage-withholding rates, it raised them partly on the presumption that the two-paycheck family—with both husband and wife employed—had become so common.

Yet there remains a shocking double standard in pay scales and promotion opportunities. A federal survey shows that the average woman employed in a full-time job earns only \$3 for each \$5 paid to a man with a similar job. Men at the top have a stake in maintaining the discrimination. If women workers got as much as men, wage costs would rise by some \$109 billion—more than all pretax corporate profits last year. Increasingly, nonradical women have joined movement leaders in demanding a square deal in hiring, pay and advancement. They are making job equality their No. 1 goal.

Tokens and Bars. Women's protests are being heard in high places. Under threat of contract cancellation, corporations that do substantial business with the Federal Government have been ordered by Labor Secretary James Hodgson to draft personnel action plans by next month showing that they will take "affirmative action" to "remedy the underutilization" of their women employees. More and more, courts are ruling against laws or work rules that discriminate against women, including bans on laboring long hours and lifting heavy loads.

In some cases the official twix has produced only token improvements. After the National Organization for Women picketed San Francisco's Crocker Bank last year, bank officials announced that the secretaries of its president and chairman had been appointed "assistant vice presidents." The promotions were counterfeited: both women in fact remained secretaries. With only slight exaggeration, Chicago Management Recruiting Executive Helen McLane complains: "America has put more men on the moon than it has women in the executive suite."

The pattern of discrimination does not stop at the executive suite. Indeed, the lack of women in skilled jobs and middle management almost guarantees that few will make it to the peak. At California's Pacific Gas & Electric, for

example, 94% of women employees are clerks and secretaries. Manhattan's Avon Products Inc., which employs women for half of its 10,000 jobs in North America, has promoted only 14 of them to managerial ranks and none to vice presidents or higher. Boston's Raytheon Co. has been engaged in a two-year federal court action over charges by eight women inspectors of precision equipment—all with at least twelve years' seniority—that they had been passed over for advancement in favor of men with less time on the job and had been denied overtime opportunities. In blue-collar work, many unions agree to rules that screen out many women from certain job-categories.

The companies that put up the most bars to female advancement are mostly in gilt-edged and gilded-age industries such as banking, finance, steel, mining and railroads. On the other hand, women have found fairly wide opportunities in advertising and high-fashion retailing. Countless companies require female—but not male—college graduates to take typing tests, then assign the women to clerical jobs. Says Barbara Brush, an equal-employment specialist in San Francisco: "Once a woman sets herself up that way, even though she moves on to more interesting work, her salary will be \$100 a week below a man's." Reason: if she starts low, she stays low. The dead-end clerical route is considered so hazardous by many career advisers that they tell talented women students not even to learn secretarial skills.

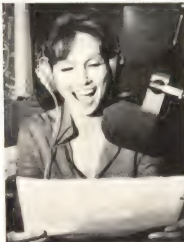
Limited Goals. The chance to move up is discouraged in subtle ways. "A woman who wants to get ahead is branded as aggressive by company evaluators," says San Francisco Lawyer Barbara Phillips. "I wonder how their evaluations would look if they criticized men with the same words?"

Sexual exclusiveness reaches its height in business socializing, which tends to men-only affairs. "So much information in management is passed along informally at lunches, over drinks and at a bar after work," says a Chicago woman executive. Many male executives still feel profoundly threatened by the thought of working with women of equal or superior rank. Such insecurity often seems petty and selfish. Yet because the business world has for so long served as modern society's parallel to the ancient male hunting-providing experience, the insecurity is also understandable.

Men are not wholly to blame. To some extent, women end up with a low job because they start off with limited



AIRPORT ATTENDANT IN ASPEN, COLO.



RADIO DISK JOCKEY IN MANHATTAN

COMPUTER ENGINEER IN KINGSTON, N.Y.
TELEPHONE INSTALLER IN LOS ANGELES

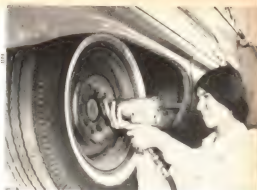
expectations for themselves. Mrs. Sharlene Pugh of Detroit recalls that when she became interested in math as a child, "people naturally expected I would want to become a teacher." Against the advice of friends and family, she decided that she wanted nothing of the kind. Instead she joined Ford Motor Co., impressed superiors with her computer skills, and is now a highly paid systems specialist. On the other hand, it is true that relatively few women have been willing to invest the grueling extra hours and display the single-minded determination necessary to make it to the top in much of U.S. business. "Women tend to see a job as a 9 to 5 thing," admits Mrs. Jane Gould, Barnard College's placement director. "We've got to toughen them up if they want to get ahead."

Despite that, the excuses usually offered by men personnel executives for discrimination against women are losing much of whatever validity they once had. The proportion of working mothers, for example, has risen four times faster in recent years than that of all working women, showing that more and more employees who become pregnant return to their job after having the baby. Freer life-styles in much of the nation have made it easier for women to travel and eat out alone (though the discomfort for both parties when a woman buys drinks or lunch for a male client remains absurdly strong). Most

women would still be reluctant to ask their husbands to move when a promotion comes along, but employers too often make the mistake of not even offering women the opportunity. Says Chicago Banking Executive Molly D'Esposito: "Men so often make assumptions about us and close the door to advancement without even asking us if we would go through that door."

New Openings. Still, doors are being opened by the threat of legal action and the "affirmative action" order signed by Labor Secretary Hodgson. Many personnel executives are drafting timetables that all but guarantee a wave of female promotions in the next few years. Pacific Telephone & Telegraph, for example, has pledged by 1975 to assign women to 8.5% of the district-management jobs (v. 1.3% at present) and about 7% of the division-level posts (v. .34% now). Ford Motor executives now comb computerized lists of women employees for candidates to fill every new job opening.

With surprising swiftness opportunities for women are also opening in those longtime male preserves; management-trainee programs. For example, this June's women college graduates will get 30% of the trainee slots at the First National Bank of Chicago and 45% at Bank of America. Women law-school students, who compose about 10% of their classes at Harvard and 30% at Boston University, are being



AUTO MECHANIC IN PARAMUS, N.J.



STOCKBROKER IN WASHINGTON, D.C.



ROCKET TECHNICIAN IN SACRAMENTO, CALIF.

UTILITY WORKER IN MANHATTAN



Situation Report

Primarily because so many women have started working over the past 15 years—and have taken jobs at the lower end of the wage scale—the difference between men's and women's pay has actually widened. In 1955 the average female employee earned 64% of the wages paid to similarly employed men; in 1970 she took home only 59% as much.

The gap is even greater within broad occupational groupings. Women in sales work, for example, in 1970 averaged only \$4,188 v. \$9,790 for the typical salesman. The difference in part reflects built-in job discrimination. Retail outlets are far more likely to assign women to sell low-ticket items such as greeting cards and candy, while men are trained to sell high-priced goods like major appliances, often on commission. The pay differential narrows at higher job levels. Women professional and technical workers, including school principals, laboratory workers and computer programmers, earn on the average 67% as much as men in the same field. But only 7% of women at work earn \$10,000 or more v. 40% of the men.

The work of housewives is unsalaried and thus not counted in

the U.S. gross national product. Based on the usual wage rates of housekeepers, cooks, dietitians, practical nurses and other persons who get paid for doing wifely chores (but not those of gainfully employed sexual partners), economists at Chase Manhattan Bank estimate that the U.S. housewife holds the equivalent of a 99.6-hr. job paying \$13,391.56 a year. Her remuneration for all that work in the form of food, clothing, rent and just plain fun varies widely according to domestic arrangements. Other pertinent statistics:

	WOMEN	MEN
Number working (in millions)	30.4	49
full time	22.7	45.1
part time	7.7	3.9
Median annual income of full-time employees	\$5,323	\$8,966
Proportion who are		
clerks	33.9%	6.7%
professional and technical	14.5%	13.7%
managers and proprietors	5%	14.6%
unemployed (January 1972)	5.5%	4.2%
Proportion of workers in managerial and proprietorial jobs		
1960	5%	13.4%
1971	4.9%	14.6%

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signed on by Establishment Wall Street and San Francisco law firms.

Too many young women still insist on preparing themselves for jobs with limited futures. Says Gail Morris, an assistant director in Michigan State University's placement bureau: "For the most part, women are majoring in the oversupplied, low-demand fields—especially liberal arts, education and social sciences." Women may well make their most visible short-term gains in these fields, simply because they dominate the staffs in them; thus more women will probably be named to manage school systems and social service departments. For the longer term, young women might do well to focus their ambitions on other, faster-growing career fields, even though resistance in some of them is still strong: business administration, chemistry, medicine, dentistry and physics.

Even with major reforms at the middle-management level, it will take time for women to serve out the apprenticeships that most large companies require of their top management. "The major struggle is still ahead of us," says Harriet White, personnel supervisor of Illinois Bell Telephone. "Those who take the first positions of management will have to put up with lots of gaff, with being called names." Still, the demands of activists are likely to propel women into jobs of real power sooner than many think.

CORPORATIONS

The Levi Experiment

In many ways San Francisco's Levi Strauss & Co., producer of the famous blue denim Levis, is a model employer. It pays top wages, and pioneered in hiring and promoting blacks. Yet Levi Strauss managers failed until recently to grasp the importance of the rising aspirations of women. Today, typical of many companies, Levi Strauss is striving to redress that lapse with a new program designed to give women the same job opportunities as men. Chairman Walter A. Haas Jr. was moved to act by pressures from the Government, from his conscience and from his customers. Levi Strauss sells mainly to young people who have plenty of progressive notions, and the company could ill afford to carry a male chauvinist label.

Bunched low. The company, which employs 18,000 people in 35 plants, began to study a year ago how its women were treated. It found that most women were bunched into the lowest-paying jobs as secretaries, patternmakers, stencilers. Most men were in the better paid posts as salesmen or cloth cutters. Though 85% of the company's employees were women, only 9% of the 572 managers were women. Says Sharon Weiner, who heads Levi Strauss's "Affirmative Action Program for Women": "When a woman came to

the door for a job, she was told only about those that had historically been held by women. Nobody ever sat down and thought what it was like to be a woman in the company."

One of the new program's immediate goals is to lift more women into jobs that once were monopolized by men. The first woman recently completed the management-training program; she is now a product manager. All together, 13 other women have been promoted to management positions after on-the-job training.

The chiefs of all the company's manufacturing divisions are under orders to appoint women to the next two management posts that open in their personnel departments. Personnel Boss Thomas Borrelli rejects the notion that women are bad management risks because they are more likely to leave than men. Says he: "The tendency has been to compare the turnover of managers with the turnover of secretaries. But if you look at the turnover of women managers, it is probably less than men."

Secretaries Out. For the first time, Levi Strauss is moving women into its field sales force; two are already working, one is in training, and orders are out to hire at least seven more before September. Some retailers warned that women in selling would have trouble with lecherous buyers. Haas rejects that argument. A more serious concern is that married saleswomen with children could face problems at home if they were forced to put in three-day or four-day stretches on the road. "We let the woman decide if she can handle it," says Borrelli.

Levi Strauss is also working to upgrade some office jobs that are now held by women. In the past year, 15 secretaries have been raised to administrative assistants—and not in name only. They allocate department budgets, make periodic changes in the size of salesmen's territories and investigate the causes of canceled orders. Indeed, top management reasons that many executives can do without secretaries; some are being phased out by promotion or attrition. The company has also liberalized its maternity-leave policy. In the past, women who left had no guarantee that they would get their jobs back. Now they can take up to 60 days' leave and be assured that their old posts will be waiting for them; Borrelli says that most women find this arrangement adequate.

For all its moderately bright beginnings, Levi Strauss's experiment has yet to resolve some problems. Upgrading and training secretaries for the new higher-paying administrative posts is an added company expense. In Levi Strauss's sales and distribution departments, transfers are considered part of the job, but married women find it tough to relocate because their husbands will not leave their jobs. Beyond that, Levi Strauss, like many

other companies, may have trouble meeting the new job demands of competing groups of activists. Says Borrelli: "There just aren't that many job openings. We are under pressure to hire women, blacks, Chicanos and Viet Nam veterans. I told our chairman that about 80% of our new managerial positions in the next five years could well be filled with non-males or non-WASPs. If you are a woman, a college graduate and a minority group member, you really have it made."

EXECUTIVES

Four Who Made It

It usually takes prodigious effort, great motivation and many extra years for women to break into the command echelons of business. Often women have to start their own companies to get there at all. Here are four examples of women who have made it.

MICHAEL ALLEN BABCOCK, 45, a petite and chic redhead, looks more like a sportswear designer than the president and chief stockholder of the U.S.'s fourth largest computer time-sharing company. Her firm, Allen-Babcock of



ENTREPRENEUR MICHAEL BABCOCK

Los Angeles, has annual revenues of \$5,000,000 and more than 300 clients. "I was always strongly motivated," she says.

Like many women executives, she got much of that motivation from a strong parent. Her father, a buccaneering oil wildcatter from Texas, taught her that, as she recalls, "being an entrepreneur is the only way to fly." He gave her a man's name and directed her to a career. Shortly out of college, she married a Rand Corp. mathematician. In the mid-1960s, the Babcocks saw that the computer software market was blossoming, and they started a service that allowed companies to share a high-speed computer by transmitting data over telephone lines. While Michael Babcock plotted the financing and marketing strategy, her husband directed the computer technology. But she increasingly took over operations and be-



AD-AGENCY CHIEF PAULA GREEN

mains as chairman of the company, but no longer does the grocery shopping, as he once had to. Her \$45,000 salary is the least important reward. Says she: "I'm a gambler and get high on a business success."

MARION SANDLER, 41, comanages one of the nation's most profitable savings and loan companies, Golden West Financial Corp., headquartered in Oakland, Calif. A cool, self-possessed blonde, she patterned herself on her mother, who helped build a million-dollar real-estate business in Maine. Says she: "I've always thought in an entrepreneurial way."

She went straight to Wall Street from Wellesley (where she was Phi

deposit boxes and traveler's checks at no extra cost. Result: since 1963, Golden West's assets have expanded from \$35 million to \$500 million, and it has grown from two branches to 25.

Most of the branch managers are women. Mrs. Sandler believes that "women demand more of other women than men do." As senior vice president, Mrs. Sandler earns \$58,000 a year. She does not mind that her husband is president: "I own the shop and don't worry about titles."

BETTY MCFADDEN, 50, merchandising vice president of Chicago-based Jewel Tea Co., is the first woman executive of that big supermarket chain. The climb has taken 20 years, and she says without bitterness, "I haven't moved as fast as I would have had I been a man."

Her career started almost by accident. Newly married and with a commerce degree from Ohio State, Mrs. McFadden took a temporary accounting job at Jewel and planned to quit as soon as she became a mother. When children did not arrive, she redirected her energy to the job. The drive to excel pushed her slowly up the male-dominated ranks to a vice presidency, paying an estimated \$50,000 or more. She fears that her drive also earned her accusations of being ambitious, even ruthless, and she concedes: "I am a much nicer person now than I was when getting here." Interestingly, after she made it there, she gave birth to a daughter—at the age of 47. She and her husband, a Gulf Oil executive, were delighted.

Mrs. McFadden has been willing to put up with heavy traveling and many all-male meetings. She still runs afoul of slights because of her sex. Recently she went golfing with Jewel officers, and was told that women were not allowed to play that day. In finding more women executives for Jewel, she has been markedly unsuccessful. She admits that she might be a more severe judge than a man would be: "It could be the standards I've set for myself, or it might be a certain amount of jealousy."

PAULA GREEN, 45, the advertising executive who conceived the WE TRY HARDER campaign for Avis, found that women do not have to be No. 2 on Madison Avenue. She is president of Green Dolmarch, an agency that has billings of \$4,000,000 from such clients as Seagrams, Hathaway Shirts and the New York Times. "Advertising," she believes, "is kinder to women because there is a need for creative people, whatever their sex, shape, race, parents, hobbies or hang-ups."

Miss Green began as a secretary, moved up fast by taking responsibilities from her boss's shoulders. She became a copywriter at Doyle Dane Bernbach, where, besides working on Avis, she helped memorialize Heinz' Great



SUPERMARKET VICE PRESIDENT BETTY MCFADDEN CONFERS WITH OTHER OFFICERS



S AND L OWNER MARION SANDLER
A drive to excel.

came president in 1969. She says: "I just love business manipulations."

Her pace is arduous. By 7:30 a.m. she is in the office phoning clients in the East, and she stays well into the night going over documents. She admits that "the price of my success has been enormous." One painful cost: because of her dwindling time for domestic life, her marriage collapsed two years ago. Her former husband re-

Beta Kappa with a major in economics) and talked herself into becoming the first woman admitted to the executive-training program at the Brahmin brokerage of Dominick & Dominick. "Frankly," she recalls, "it was an advantage to be a woman. Customers remembered me." She wisely carved out a specialty—savings and loan associations—and after ten years was a recognized expert, handling \$15 million underwritings. But it was time to leave. "The doors were closed for a partnership. To be a woman entrepreneur you have to own the store." With her lawyer husband, she found a money store to buy: Golden West Savings & Loan Association. The couple raised \$4,000,000 from family and banks, took over the S and L, changed its name and started expanding.

While her husband supervised loans and created for mergers, Mrs. Sandler concentrated on attracting savings depositors. Particularly to woo women customers, she put originally commissioned works of art into every branch and offered tired shoppers a cup of coffee and a lounge. She also lured depositors by giving them free safety-

BUSINESS

American Soups and Instant Quaker Oats. (The company originally wanted to call it "Quaker Instant Oats," but Miss Green, knowing how important the word "instant" is to kitchen-bound women, put it first.) Itching to go on her own, she two years ago set up Green Dolmatch with a pair of partners, one of them her engineer husband, now the agency's business manager. In addition to being an owner, she gets a salary of \$60,000.

"I like combative advertising that hits competing products head-on," she says. But she bristles at ads that she finds insulting to women, particularly those that portray the empty-headed sex bomb, the "dumbbelle" driver or the mindless housewife cooing ecstatically over the latest detergent or deodorant. "Women take pride in keeping house, but it is silly to have them gushing over a clean floor. An effective dishwasher ad should show a woman competently operating a machine," she says. As for some supposedly sexy ads: "Girls smiling seductively from bathtubs appeal to ad directors, not women customers." These ads, she argues, are almost invariably written by men, who patronize for profit. To guard her own agency from falling into mantraps, she has hired eleven women out of a total of 18 employees.

THE OFFICE

Rebel Secretaries

The 2,000,000 U.S. secretaries—nearly all women, many underutilized and underpaid—would seem to be ideal recruits for Women's Liberation. Yet few so far have joined the cause. Nevertheless, with new pages being turned almost everywhere else, some are being flipped over in shorthand notebooks too.

Last week, responding to complaints from employees, the U.S. State Department ordered its executives to stop treating secretaries as "char help," to show a little more diplomacy toward them and to encourage independent secretarial decision making. Officials warned especially against the "reliable-old-shoe syndrome," in which secretaries are assumed to be content with the same duties throughout their career while almost everyone else moves up.

Hot-Pants Party. This week a group of New York City secretaries, backed by members of the National Organization of Women, plans to picket the headquarters of Olivetti Corp., which is running ads that infuriate feminists. The ads promote "brains" typewriters that are supposed to eliminate some typing errors made by dippy-looking secretaries, who presumably lack the brains to avoid them in the first place. In the TV commercial, the secretary is shown as a vacuous sex kitten who finds that she can attract men by becoming "an Olivetti girl."



PRE-WORLD WAR I CONCEPT OF SECRETARY
Tired of being a go fer.

More and more secretaries, like airline stewardesses, are rebelling against being viewed as objects of vicarious sexual pleasure (or being called "dear" and "honey" by men in the office). Linda Lervold, a secretary at a Manhattan ad agency, complains about an office "hot-pants party" at which women employees were invited to "show their wares." A N.O.W. member, Miss Lervold attended wearing distinctly unsexy culottes and gave the host, a vice president, a pair of men's hot pants. "I don't think anybody at the party got the point," she laments.

Secretaries commonly complain that they are not challenged to stretch their minds or take initiative, and get little recognition when they do. "A secretary works hard at putting it all together, but the credit often goes to the boss," says a top secretary at a major New York-based pharmaceutical firm. Another almost universal gripe: being

MRS. LOUGHRAN IN HER KITCHEN



asked to serve as the office "go fer," who is sent out to buy coffee, cigarettes and the like. A secretary is both a necessity and a comforting luxury for many executives, who are terror-stricken at the prospect of having to do without one. But she certainly should be encouraged to do much more than menial jobs and be given a better chance to get ahead in the company.

Frank Riley, public relations chief of the National Secretaries Association, estimates that about half of its 28,000 members view their jobs as steppingstones to higher work in business, and quite a few "have middle management as their goal." In this new atmosphere, secretarial schools are adding courses in accounting, budgeting, personnel training and other semiadministrative functions. "Automation has cut the amount of time that a secretary needs for typing, filing and the like," says Edith Foster, director of instruction for the Katharine Gibbs schools. "More and more bosses are looking to their secretaries as administrative assistants who work with them, not for them."

Though that may be the trend, it is true so far only in relatively few cases. The secretary's role is clearly changing, but not fast enough for many young women. So many of them refuse to take that important and indispensable job that, despite the nation's high unemployment rate, there is an acute shortage of secretaries.

CAREERS

The Re-Entry Problem

Frances Loughran was restless. At 42 she had everything that many women desire: a devoted husband, eight dutiful children and a 13-room house in the leafy suburb of Pelham Manor, N.Y. She also had a master's degree in psychology and a lively intelligence that was not being challenged by her activities as church volunteer worker and Cub Scout den mother. "When my youngest child was five and could cross the street alone, I saw the handwriting on the wall," she recalls. "I knew I had to do something."

So she got a job. At first it was a boring round of house-to-house opinion-research interviews. But eventually she was hired by an educational testing service to run psychological tests for elementary school pupils. "I'm a new person," she says.

Frances Loughran's experience is shared by a growing number of women in their 30s and 40s. After working full-time for years raising children, they are put on part-time status as a mother and later laid off completely. Partly as a result, half of all women with school-age children have taken jobs. Displaced mothers are one of the fastest-growing components of the nation's work force. The question

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BUSINESS

that more and more such women are asking is "How do I find a job?"

Younger women have it easier. Those under 30 increasingly look upon childbearing as a temporary leave of absence from the work force; they have often prepared for quick re-entry by choosing and studying for a career while still in college and keeping up with their fields after marriage. The older generation, however, was brought up to believe that motherhood was in itself a satisfactory career goal. Today, when they try to enter the labor market at mid-life after a decade or two of absence—or after never having worked at all—they find that employers consider them qualified for only the lowest jobs. The skills and knowledge that they acquired in college or in a few years of work before marriage have become obsolete. Among college-educated women, the problem is particularly difficult for female liberal arts graduates (sometimes known as FLAGs), who often have little in the way of easily marketable skills. After years of confident supremacy in the kitchen, they find themselves in a new and often hostile world, like a nun who has recently left the convent.

To help women with re-entry problems, several books have recently appeared with titles such as *Have You Had It in the Kitchen?* (Grosset & Dunlap) and *The Back to Work Handbook for Housewives* (Collier Books). This spring Simon & Schuster will publish one with a title that tells it all: *How to Go to Work When Your Husband Is Against It, Your Children Aren't Old Enough and There's Nothing You Can Do Anyway*.

False Teeth. Scores of private organizations are focusing their efforts on employment counseling for women over 30. Chicago-based Altrusa, a kind of female Rotary Club, offers grants of up to \$350 each to help women acquire new job skills and buy typewriters, stenotype machines or hair dryers to start their own small businesses. Sometimes the club even buys hearing aids and false teeth for older women so that they will be at their best in job interviews. Washington Opportunities for Women has helped 10,000 capital-area women return to work since 1965.

Manhattan-based Catalyst counsels educated women in their 30s and older and lobbies with employers to hire more women part-time. In one program, Catalyst officers persuaded the Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare to hire 50 women as part-time caseworkers. The department discovered that the women accomplished nearly as much as the full-time caseworkers. Because the part-timers worked only five hours a day, they could keep up a level of effort and energy that full-time caseworkers found hard to sustain for eight hours. In addition, the turnover rate among the part-timers was only one-third that of their full-time colleagues.

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Patients' Prejudice

Discussions about the shortage of doctors and the poor distribution of them invariably get around to unused woman power. Then accusatory fingers are pointed at medical schools and the profession's elders for having long discouraged women from entering the field. However, this kind of discrimination has begun to fade (see box opposite), giving rise to a new question: Will patients welcome an increasing number of female physicians? A large part of the public apparently will not.

A startling degree of bias was turned up last year by Dr. Edgar Engleman, who studied the attitudes of 500 patients in three New York City hospitals.* Eighty-four percent of the men and 75% of the women questioned said that they preferred a male doctor. Though better than half agreed that woman physicians were more considerate than male colleagues in dealing with poor patients and nearly 40% said that they considered women friendlier than men, only one-quarter of the patients thought that they would be more comfortable confiding in a woman.

Ethnic Factors. Heed advice from a woman doctor? Many said no. Twenty percent, which Engleman calls "a significant number," would not take drugs prescribed by a woman, and 48% said that they would seriously question a woman's recommendation to enter a hospital for treatment or tests. The study also turned up some contrasts in attitudes that seem to be linked to educational, ethnic and age factors. Among those with less than an eighth-grade education, 85% preferred a male doctor, compared with 73% among the college-educated. One notable disparity: 54% of the Puerto Rican patients thought women were less competent physicians than men, but only 20% of the blacks agreed. Engleman offers a cultural explanation: "People from a Spanish background have a masculine-dominated culture, but in black American culture it is often the woman who is more educated and esteemed."

More predictable was the finding that people under 30 of all backgrounds were far more receptive to being treated by a woman than were older people. This, Engleman suspects, is because younger patients are closer to the time when they were cared for by their mothers and perhaps by wom-

* Then a student at Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons, Engleman arranged to have such person interviewed at length on his or her feelings toward man and woman physicians. Though all clinic patrons, the patients included college-educated, middle-class people as well as the poor. These findings are excerpted from Engleman's unpublished study.

an pediatricians. Also, the young generally have less rigid attitudes toward sex and the sexes.

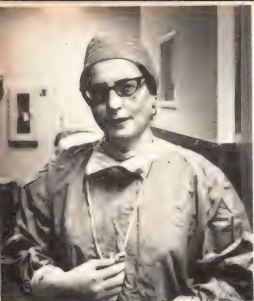
Engleman, 26, now an intern at the University of California in San Francisco, believes that his study actually shows prejudice against women, not just woman doctors. To support that conclusion, he cites typical responses. One patient who had never even met a female physician said: "A male knows more and takes his work more seriously. He puts his mind to it. A woman has home problems." Another rationalized: "No, I've never seen a woman doctor, but I resent them anyway. How can they be doctors and raise a family? Chances are they don't do either very well." Others were more blindly biased. "I don't think female doctors have any feelings at all," said one, and another epitomized prejudice with the statement "I hate them all. I don't know why."

Woman doctors, of course, do not need a poll to tell them that they face such attitudes. They improvise a variety of defenses and responses. Faced with the frequency of men's reluctance to submit to genital examinations, for instance, some woman doctors simply discourage adult males from becoming their patients. Others, like Aniritha Mitchell, a black resident in internal medicine at the University of California in Los Angeles, "just try to be as businesslike as possible."

Manhattan Psychiatrist Helen Edey observes that young woman interns and residents are frequently mistaken for nurses. She overcame the problem by ignoring it: "You can do the same things whether the patient calls you nurse or doctor." Leona Miller, now a diabetes specialist in Los Angeles, remembers the sincere but puzzled thank-you from a woman whose husband had been saved by a trio of woman physicians. "To think," the woman said, "that you three nurses took care of him and that a doctor never saw him."

Catch-22. In two areas there is no lack of demand for women. In pediatrics, seemingly viewed almost as an extension of motherhood, supply has responded to demand and fully one-fifth of all pediatricians are women. Obstetrics and gynecology, the second specialty, is medicine's catch-22. The Engleman study and others show clearly that women prefer female obstetrician-gynecologists, but only a scant 6.8% of doctors in women's medicine are women.

Why this paradox? Obstetrics and gynecology are considered a surgical specialty, and surgery is the most rigidly disciplined major branch of medicine. It requires more apprenticeship training than most other branches, and many senior man doctors do not want to "waste" the education on a woman



SURGEON NINA BRAUNWALD



**FAMILY PHYSICIAN CONSTANCE HOYT
PEDIATRICIAN MARY ALLEN ENGLE**



who might later practice only part time for family reasons. Cardiovascular Surgeon Nina Braunwald of the University of California at San Diego, one of the few who made it, sees another reason: "Surgery is a closed field, and the male ego would like to keep it so." Because department heads in the surgical specialties would rather not take a chance on a woman, the female residents are usually chosen last. In many hospitals, if a woman resident takes a six-month maternity leave, she has no job guarantee, though men are given two years of military leave with job security.

Standing Up. Anesthesiologist Barbara Lipton encountered a typical response while interning at Yale-New Haven Hospital. She held retractors for a neurosurgeon during a particularly long operation. The surgeon, duly impressed with her perseverance, sent her a Christmas greeting: "To one of the boys." Says Pediatrician-Hematologist Darleen Powers: "There are hundreds of ways to discourage women surgeons. There's no place for a woman resident to sleep. And if you want to urinate some other way than standing up, you have a problem."

Now things are gradually changing, even in surgery. "When I started medical school in 1948," Nina Braunwald recalls, "a woman would probably decide against it. Today she'll think about it 100 times and feel that there is some possibility of success." Like most women in medicine, Dr. Braunwald finds that acceptance by male colleagues varies. "The more intelligent a male doctor is," she says, "the less he minds."

In self-defense, many woman physicians say that they offer patients qualities that men do not. Family Practitioner Constance Louise Holt of Washington, D.C., feels that "women understand the non-medical problems that bring patients to doctors' offices." Mary Allen Engle, chief of pediatric cardiology at New York Hospital, also points out that being a mother has helped her in treating children. Her specialty—caring for those with congenital heart disease—is a relatively new field that was begun by another woman doctor, Helen Taussig, who was Dr. Engle's mentor in the 1940s. Until then, says Dr. Engle, "these kids were being written off. Now we can do something to help, and this is very gratifying."

The Engle prescription for how a female doctor gets ahead is succinct: "By being more qualified than a man." That statement may sound like feminine chauvinism, but patients who balk at being cared for by a woman might consider what they are missing. To get her degree, to complete her residency, to earn specialty certification, the typical woman doctor of today had to show more determination and skill than her male counterpart.

ABORTION IN THE U.S.



Freeing the Prisoners

Although Norman Mailer claims the title for himself, women more than men are the prisoners of sex. The reason is simple. "Without the full capacity to limit her own reproduction," writes Lucinda Cislis in *Sisterhood Is Powerful*, "a woman's other freedoms are tantalizing mockeries that cannot be exercised." For centuries, organized medicine did little or nothing to ease this biological bondage—as it is regarded by many women today. That situation has changed drastically. Today new medical and legal attitudes are rapidly giving women virtually complete freedom from involuntary conception or motherhood.

Contraception is now more effective than ever, and it is likely to get even easier. As it has been since the early '60s, the synthetic hormone pill

that prevents ovulation is still the favorite means of birth control. It is currently used by about 8,000,000 American women, and when taken properly, it is virtually 100% effective. Yet the Pill is not perfect. Changing hormonal balance is blamed for headaches and weight gain in some women. Of more concern are the British medical studies that have indicated a connection between the Pill and the formation of blood clots that can cause strokes.

Those studies, together with a 1970 Senate investigation of the Pill's side effects, caused some alarm, and the percentage of women using family-planning clinics who prefer the Pill fell from 76% to 70% (use of the intra-uterine device, or IUD, and the diaphragm increased as a consequence). The wide concern about the Pill's side effects made many doctors more selective about which women should

Situation Report

MEDICINE is a man's world, and only recently have women received any encouragement to enter it as doctors instead of nurses. Though change is slow, some women are taking advantage of the new opportunities.

A decade ago women accounted for just 6% of the nation's 260,000 doctors; today they are 7.6% of the 345,000 practitioners. Nor are women spread evenly within the profession. They represent only 1% of the general surgeons, who are among the biggest medical earners, and 26% of the nation's public health physicians, whose income is modest by comparison with most doctors.

The proportion of women in some of the other specialties: pediatrics, 20%; anesthesiology, 13.8%; psychiatry, 12.9%; obstetrics-gynecology, 6.8%; internal medicine, 5.2%.

In the near future there will be a far larger supply to go around. Despite continued resistance to women at many medical schools and hospitals, the number of female degree candidates is increasing rapidly. Of the nation's 8,300 medical students ten years ago, only 600, or 7%, were women. By 1968 the percentage of women entering medical school had inched up to only 9%. Last fall, however, 13.5% of the nation's incoming medical students were women, and the proportion is likely to increase further in years to come.

take them, and in what strength they should be prescribed. Physicians, however, generally are persuaded that the Pill is safe for most women, and so are researchers. They are working on such improvements as 1) a once-a-month Pill, 2) an injection that would function for three to six months and 3) a capsule implanted under the skin that releases hormones for a year or more.

The IUD, not as reliable as the Pill, is also being improved. One version now being tested is not a loop or spiral, but a "T." It is designed to be less easily expelled and less likely to cause cramps than present models. Some women believe that men should take responsibility for birth control. The old-fashioned condom is considered a bother and a distraction by many couples, however, and the male Pill is only a far-off possibility.

New Rulings. Even though good contraceptive methods are available, unwanted pregnancies still occur by the tens of thousands, and the campaign for legal abortion goes on. Led by Colorado, which took the step in 1967, 16 states and the District of Columbia have liberalized their abortion laws to some degree. The new statutes, and interpretations of them, vary widely. In states like New York and Hawaii, women may obtain abortions on demand. A second group of states adopted laws based on an American Law Institute model code (see *map, previous page*), which allows abortion to preserve the emotional or physical health of the mother, in cases of fetal abnormality and pregnancies resulting from rape or incest. But the effects are uneven because of differences in local medical policies. Thus it is more difficult to get an abortion in Arkansas than in Kansas, though both follow the A.L.I. model. Courts in three more states—Florida, Vermont and New Jersey—have in recent weeks knocked down restrictive laws. How free abortion will now become in these three states is still unclear, but the trend toward individual choice is certain.

Not that the opposition is giving up. A Roman Catholic law professor at Fordham University, Robert Byrn, a bachelor, had himself declared the legal guardian of all unborn fetuses whose mothers were awaiting abortions in municipal hospitals in New York. He sought to halt abortions only in public hospitals. Byrn won in the first court round, but abortions continued while the state appealed the decision. The professor then lost before the appeals court.

The U.S. Supreme Court could make all other challenges moot. Last December the court heard cases involving the Texas and Georgia abortion laws, but has not yet ruled. Should the court decide as expected, its action would nullify all anti-abortion laws in the country.

Studying the Sisterhood

The class that meets on Saturday mornings in an otherwise deserted hall on the San Diego State campus is no ordinary gathering. All but three of its 70 members are women, who range in age from 14 to 55. One student sits taking notes while she nurses her baby; others have left their children at the campus child-care center. More than one-third are nonstudents, taking the course for their own interest rather than for credit. They have all enrolled in this class on the Socialization Process of Women because they believe that there are things to be learned

history, English, French and German departments. Elsewhere students can sign up for such diverse topics as Sex and Politics (Smith), Media's Manipulation of Women (University of Massachusetts), and Women and Social Uplift (Harvard).

Oppression. Many of these courses emphasize a long history of discrimination and denigration. Joanna Russ, an English instructor at Cornell, is trying to change the rules whereby, as she recalls her own education, "we studied E.M. Forster but not Virginia Woolf. We read Thackeray, who was splendid, but not Charlotte Brontë, who was considered eccentric, minor and



INSTRUCTOR KESSEL (RIGHT) TEACHING WOMEN'S STUDIES AT SAN DIEGO

"Everything I read fills me with rage."

about women that they have not learned simply by growing up female.

Women's studies, the systematic analysis of women's role in history and culture, are surprisingly new. The program at San Diego State, which began in 1970 with five teachers and ten courses, was the first in the country. Today women's studies have spread to scores of campuses and include more than 600 courses. One out of every ten students is a male, and a few sympathetic men have even risked ridicule to teach such courses.

The most popular classes deal with the study of women in literature. At the State University of New York at Buffalo, students of Literary Attitudes Toward Women spend 15 weeks reading ten works, about equally divided between those sympathetic to women (*The Scarlet Letter*, *Cymbeline*) and those that are hostile (*Paradise Lost*, *Mailer's The American Dream*).

If women's studies frequently begin with literature, they go much farther. Barnard now offers women's studies courses in its sociology, economics,

dull." In history, too, the emphasis has been changed to the study of "invisible women" whose achievements have been largely forgotten: Dorothea Dix, whose exposés revolutionized conditions in mental institutions a century ago; Sojourner Truth, a former slave and influential abolitionist who was received by Abraham Lincoln and later appointed "counselor to the freed people"; Maria Mitchell, who discovered a new comet in 1847; Belva Lockwood, activist lawyer and candidate for President on an equal-rights platform in 1884. In analyzing the bias that has ignored such figures, the women's studies courses frequently focus on economic exploitation and other forms of oppression. At Buffalo, a course on the Politics of Health examines the "medical-industrial complex" as a profitable business. Even a course on automobile repairs presents the car as "directly analogous to the female body, that is, it is a female machine driven and serviced by men."

Like black studies programs, women's studies have been criticized as a

fad, or as simply a disguised form of consciousness-raising talk sessions. Cornell Historian L. Pearce Williams, for one, calls them "rather silly," "worthless," and "a lot of nonsense." His argument: "A lot of these courses are not scholarly, they're ideological. They're out to indoctrinate rather than illuminate." Teachers of women's studies reject such criticisms. "Actually," observes Portland State Professor Nancy Porter, "consciousness raising is what education is all about." Professors Annette Baxter and Suzanne Wemple of Barnard agree: "If we acknowledge that the purpose of a liberal arts curriculum is not merely to provide pre-professional preparation for our students but also to give them an appreciation of their cultural heritage, then it is our duty to give them an awareness of their legacy as women."

Prejudice. The feminists, like many black scholars, reject the notion of "value-free" scholarship that rises above prejudice. Preconceptions and unexamined assumptions are widespread in education, they contend, and must be refuted by an adversary process. Cornell's Joanna Russ is often asked: "Why don't you present the other side?" Her reply: "The other side is all around us." Or, as Buffalo's Ann Scott says of John Milton: "Nobody who is such a great writer has a right to be such a damn pig."

San Diego's program attempts, more than most, to bridge the gap between academia and the community. "Bring friends, daughters, mothers or neighbors," Barbara Kessel urges her class on the Socialization Process of Women. Teaching methods have had to be devised by trial and error. "I've erred both on too little consciousness raising and not enough," Instructor Kessel admits. She says she started out by asking her students to go out and observe women in various roles in society, but she recalls that "one girl raised her hand and asked 'What should we be looking for?' I realized that first they needed a course on sexism, which would then lead into the regular subject matter of the course."

Now she starts the course with an exercise in which she solicits secrets from the students. The resulting list becomes the basis for discussion: "I resent always having to stop what I'm doing to take care of my baby," and "I'm scared to death of men." The members soon realize that their frustrations and insecurities are common to many women. The next week they are ready for a session based on such works as Robin Morgan's anthology, *Sisterhood Is Powerful*, or Anne Koedt's interview with a lesbian, "Can Women Love Women?"

Depression. Enlightenment can sometimes prove devastating. At the end of a literature course, one girl came up to Buffalo's Ann Scott and declared: "I want you to know that you've ruined my life. Everything I read now fills me

with rage." Another problem is the deep depression that these courses frequently arouse. Mary Anne Ferguson, professor of English at the University of Massachusetts, observes: "The depression builds up as the essentially negative reflection of women is documented in story after story, and even women authors offer little hope as they show women wasting their lives tied to worthless men or driven to suicide by the very awareness that such a course is trying to develop. One can try to substitute anger for depression, but the problems of channeling the anger constructively remain."

Nor is all the consciousness raising limited to women. John Willems, a senior at Portland State University, where some 800 students are currently enrolled in 18 different women's studies courses, notes that the men in such classes have developed a new style of behavior. "They are much more open on an emotional level," he says, "and they aren't as involved in the ritual struggle for dominance. The movement demands that they become more human, less rational and more in touch with their feelings, that they discover women as people."

The ultimate goal of women's studies, according to San Diego's Barbara Kessel, is "to change the world so that women's studies will not be necessary."

Woman & Man at Yale

In the fall of 1968, two girls named Janet Lever and Pepper Schwartz arrived on the New Haven campus to begin graduate studies in sociology. Women had been attending Yale graduate schools since the turn of the century, but around the university's ivied halls and paneled smoking rooms, they soon found out, to be female was a singularly disconcerting experience.

"The maleness of Yale was overwhelming," they recall in their book *Women at Yale*. "Male eating clubs, male-populated streets, even a male-oriented health department. Walking down a Yale street we became acutely aware of the staring. We were conscious of ourselves as objects, common objects to be looked over and appraised."

Vantage Point. As it turned out, Yale was at that very moment in the throes of deciding whether to go co-educational, as a number of all male and all female Eastern schools were doing. After Vassar opted out of a proposed merger, Yale President Kingman Brewster decided to go ahead and he announced that in the fall of 1969 Yale would admit 500 women undergraduate students.

From their special vantage point—that of girls who had already established themselves at Yale and who

Situation Report

COLLEGE EDUCATION. In 1970 about the same number of girls (50.5% of the total) graduated from high school as boys, but fewer women than men enrolled in college (41% as compared with 59%). Among the reasons may be parental opposition or lack of interest or money, but another factor is college quotas. Stanford, for example, maintains a 60% male majority, while at Princeton the figure is three men to every woman. Such quotas in themselves ensure that women need higher grades than men to gain admission.

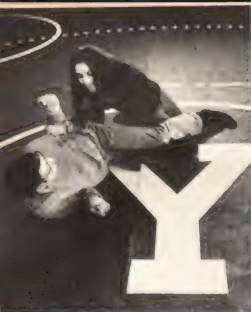
Women also get substantially less scholarship and financial aid—\$518 annually on the average for women, \$760 for men. And although more women than ever received bachelor's degrees in 1970 (344,465), the percentage of recipients who were female (43%) was actually lower than in 1899 (53%).

GRADUATE SCHOOL. After college, the gap widens. Women receive almost the same percentage of the M.A.s that are awarded (40%) as they do of the B.A.s (43%). But when it comes to doctorates conferred, only 13% go to women.

TEACHING. In elementary education, 85% of the schoolteachers are women, but only 21% of the

principals. In high schools, the percentage of female principals drops to 3%. And if a woman wishes to become a college president, she is advised to become a nun: almost all of the meager 1% who make it are heads of Catholic institutions. In 1970, women constituted 20% of college and university faculties; 33% of the instructors were women, 20% of the assistant professors, 15% of the associate professors and 9% of the full professors. At Harvard, where women make up about 22% of the students of arts and sciences, there are only six women among the 421 tenured professors on that faculty. Even predominantly women's colleges like Vassar have more full-time men teachers (122) than women (66).

SALARIES. Educational achievement does not lead to equal income. The average annual income of a college-educated woman over 25 is \$5,152 less than that of a similarly educated man. If she has a high school education, she will make \$3,987 less than a man with the same diploma. Within the education profession itself, pay scales are consistently lower for women. At the University of Minnesota, for example, a study showed that women on the faculty earned an average of 32% less than their male counterparts of the same rank.



YALE'S WRESTLING MANAGERS
And notes signed "Love."

had done their undergraduate work at coeducational Washington University in St. Louis—Janet, 25, and Pepper, 26, decided to chart what promised to be a major university's painful adjustment to coeducation. Anyone might have predicted that with an overwhelming male majority of 8 to 1, the experiment would hardly represent a normal coeducational environment. But few would have guessed, as the authors were to find in some 300 taped interviews, the degree to which the venture would illuminate the problems of all-male schools.

Many youths found themselves unable to think of the girls thrust into their midst as anything but "mindless playmates" traditionally reserved for weekend dating. "Coeds are like Christmas-tree decorations or something," one student told them. "They're just sort of there, and I don't particularly want to get involved with them."

Said another: "I like having women around, but there's a few places that really are for men—like the TV room. If a girl shows up for a football game, she'll just get pushed to the back of the room—and rightfully so." Such comments may sound like isolated examples of male resentment, but they were pretty much the norm. For one thing, nearly 40% of Yale's male students were products of all-male prep schools. By seeing women only in social situations throughout formative years, says Pepper Schwartz, the men had never learned "to develop friendships with women or to treat them as intellectual equals."

Intimidated. Nor all of the adjustments were confined to the men, of course. Vastly outnumbered, women tended initially to be intimidated in class, though the girls did well in their written work. "You were expected to be a mixture of Margaret Mead and Scarlett O'Hara," says Janet Lever. "There you are in class dis-

cussing *Lolita*, and the professor turns to you and asks for the woman's point of view. It created a very tense situation." By the second year, adds Pepper Schwartz, "the women students had been radicalized. They had more of an idea of what it is to be a woman in a man's world, and they were making more demands to know about themselves as women."

Nonetheless, many of the students have concluded that if coeducation at Yale is ever to be coequal, the male-female ratio, which has narrowed slightly to 5 to 1, must be equalized. That seems a remote possibility, though Brewster is considering some kind of reorganization to bring it closer. The main obstacle is his own promise to alumni that Yale would continue to turn out "1,000 male leaders" every year. Thus, while absorbing large numbers of women (a total of 823 this year), Yale has held male enrollment (4,000) constant—and has suffered from serious overcrowding.

By the Wayside. Despite all its social and emotional wear and tear, coeducation has brought few visible changes to Yale. One administrator admits that he is still startled to see a student wearing a bikini in the gymnasium elevator. A dean says that he enjoys getting notes from girls more than he does from boys because they are signed "Love." One senior professor, who laments the loss of "male fellowship," is still bluntly prejudiced. "Women may make a fractional contribution to an undergraduate lecture," he concedes. "They don't yawn as much."

Though female students have succeeded in getting ten women's studies courses added to the curriculum, Yale still counts only two women among its 785 tenured professors in arts and sciences. The university's tweedy, old off-campus dining club, Mory's, has adamantly refused to admit women as members, even though its liquor license was recently revoked because of discrimination.

Nonetheless, a few myths have fallen by the wayside. There has been no discernible loss of intellectual quality. Men have not dropped off in their studies because of the "distraction" of girls. The dropout rate for the women is only half that of the men (2.3% v. 4.4%). The women have higher grades—and the proportion of those going on to graduate school is about equal to that of men. Significantly, perhaps, more girls than boys choose law schools (17% v. 15%), a percentage far higher than the national norm.

Concludes Brewster: "Once we overcome the lopsided ratio, I don't think there will be any drawbacks to coeducation at Yale. People have a much more human relationship with each other now. They're more considerate. Educationally, socially, and even morally Yale is a much better place than it was before."

Behind the Lens

Screenwriter Carol Eastman was talking with friends recently about her upcoming debut as a film director. "What," asked one, "are you going to wear—a muumuu, a Gestapo uniform or a terry-cloth robe, mules and pin curls?" Miss Eastman, who wrote *Five Easy Pieces*, was understandably annoyed. "I turned to a man who had just directed his first picture and said, 'Did they ask you what you were going to wear?'"

The gaffe pointed up a fact of movie life. American women have been active underground film makers (notably Shirley Clarke, who directed *The Cool World*), and there are a number of successful European women directors, but in the Hollywood scheme of things a woman director is still an oddity. Dorothy Arzner started making pictures in the 1930s (*Craig's Wife*, *The Bride Wore Red*), as did Ida Lupino in the 1950s (*The Hitch-Hiker*, *The Beguiled*), but they hardly began a trend. Stage and TV Director Francine Parker, a spokeswoman of the two-year-old Film Committee of Women for Equality in Media, charges that in movies, "if anyone has to choose between you and a man, any man, it will always be the man. You just don't look right to a man if you're a woman director."

Equally Tough. Still, several women nowadays are getting the chance to take over control of films from directors' chairs, and a larger number are attaining considerable influence as scriptwriters. This change may partly offset the long-entrenched discrimination of the movie industry. It may give some deserving talents a break. But will it make any significant difference in the kind of movies that result?

No, says Elaine May, who should know. She wrote and directed last year's *A New Leaf*, and is currently on location in Minneapolis to direct her second film, *The Heartbreak Kid*. A comedy scripted by Neil Simon about a man who expects perfection from a wife and is twice disillusioned, it stars her daughter Jeannie Berlin. "Directing is a way of looking at something and then communicating it," Miss May says. "It would be hideous to think that either sex took a script and in any way pushed it toward any point of view other than the author's. I don't think it's important whether you're a man, a woman or a chair." Nor does she believe it is any tougher for a woman to get the all-important first assignment than a man. "You know so little the first time that you could not be the lowest member of the crew. You could only be hired as the director."

SHOW BUSINESS

Similarly Carol Eastman, who is writing and plans to direct an as yet untitled film starring her close friend Jack Nicholson and Jeanne Moreau, rejects the notion that anything in her work is specifically feminine. "All the people in my writing are different aspects of myself," she says, "and each

STEVE WEISS



DIRECTOR ELAINE MAY



SCREENWRITER ELEANOR PERRY

of us has feminine and masculine components in our nature."

True enough. But freelance Film Critic Sandra Shevey, who conducts an adult course at New York University called *Myth America in Movies*, argues that masculine components dominate contemporary culture to the detriment of all art—including films. "The consistencies of a patriarchal so-

ciety are science, reason and law," Miss Shevey says, "and in a patriarchal society they are art, magic, spirituality and mystery. These are the qualities that women could bring to films." Critic Shevey maintains that the image of women in movies has hardly improved since D.W. Griffith's damsels in distress, and is still stuck in the axis between sex object and wife-mother figure. Even in the new, "liberated" films, she says, women are depicted as cooks and baby makers, "either imperiled or hard as nails."

These are precisely the stereotyped categories that Barbara Loden, actress and film maker, set out to shatter in *Wanda*, a low-budget, highly autobiographical effort released last year. Says Miss Loden, who wrote, directed and starred in the picture: "Wanda was the prototype of the unliberated woman. She had hardly any overtly redeeming qualities. Usually a girl like that would be fixed up to be more attractive or be made witty. But I wanted to show a real woman from a certain milieu of our society. All my films will probably be fictionalized so-

JULIAN KACZOR



SCREENWRITER CAROL EASTMAN
Man, woman or chair?

ciological studies about women and their relationships with men, because this is what I know."

Screenwriter Eleanor Perry, who recently came to the end of both her marriage and her collaboration with Director Frank Perry (*David and Lisa*, *Diary of a Mad Housewife*), is perhaps the most zealous of all the advocates for a feminine point of view in films. "Why are male directors so involved in showing how barbaric man is?" she asks. "I can't imagine a woman making either *Clockwork Orange* or *Straw Dogs*. Women would bring to the screen something that celebrates life, that investigates its wider possibilities instead of exploring depravity. My whole approach to films since the beginning has been from a woman's

angle. I've never portrayed any woman as a demeaned object."

Mrs. Perry may take her first directorial plunge this summer with her original screenplay *Cruise*. "The principal characters are roommates on a singles cruise," she explains, "an older woman whose husband left her for a young girl, and a young woman who has just left a married-man situation. I can see both women's sides because I've been in both situations." Another pet project is a script that she hopes will be the first "Women's Lib western," in which the principal character is not the usual prostitute or school-marm, but "a recognizable human being, an independent, thinking, feeling woman."

"There's an untapped audience whose potential the industry has neglected," Mrs. Perry maintains. "They are women who are tired of watching men's fantasies on the screen. It took Hollywood a long time to realize the potential in the black audience. When it did, it began letting black film makers talk to their own. I feel certain that in the next five years the industry will see the value in a mass female audience and look to women to direct and produce films too."

The industry has a long way to go, however. Soon to be released is *Stand Up and Be Counted*, billed as the first serious movie about Women's Liberation. Its director is a man, Jackie Cooper.

The Code of Sudsville

Feminism may come and go, but vast and devoted bands of TV viewers believe that woman's role has not changed in 35 years—or 3,500 years. These are the 35 to 40 million people—mostly women, and especially housewives—who watch the soap operas each week. To them, woman's lot is as deliciously full of predicament, villainy and suffering as when Our Gal Sunday and Helen Trent endured a crisis a day on the radio a generation ago.

"The main thing is trouble," says Ruth Warwick, who plays Phoebe Tyler on *All My Children*. "Right here in River City. They say you get happy roles on a soap opera—forget it. If you're really a happy character, you're going to be fired or killed or something's going to happen." Escapism? Hardly. Unless, of course, escapism takes in such topics as murder, rape, insanity, adultery and terminal illness, which are the soaps' daily fare (among the remaining unmentionables are incest and homosexuality).

Baby Trouble. Illegitimacy is more of a problem on daytime TV than it remains in real life. Sometimes it seems as if no one is born in wedlock; even then the father is often in question. "I love you, Howard, but I'm carrying Brian's baby," one woman said on a recent installment of



SICKNESS & SORROW ON ABC SOAP OPERA "ONE LIFE TO LIVE"
Spice for a highly ordered moral universe.

NBC's *Bright Promise*, which next month will be replaced by yet another version of *Peyton Place*.

Some of the shows, which are, all in all, the networks' biggest profit makers, have been slipping in the ratings recently—especially the long-running serials on CBS—and the producers have tried to add spice to the old recipe. Sex is more explicit, and husbands and wives can now be shown in bed together—with naked shoulders, no less. An observer of CBS charges that the number of rapes on the network's soaps betrays an effort "to increase the melodrama, which means using either the penis or the switchblade." Even the good people are now seen drinking. There are also black lawyers and doctors wandering around Sudsville. Although some of the shows are trying to develop a so-

cial conscience and thereby attract younger viewers, a real discussion of racial problems has yet to be added to the staple woes.

"We still have the strong leading woman whom viewers like to identify with," says Doris Quinlan, producer of ABC's *One Life to Live*. "But we are writing men with more guts than we used to. Helen Trent had 14 fiancés, and none of them were worthy of her."

It's about time, because the soaps suggest that the main concern of any smart woman is now, as it was for Helen Trent 35 years ago, to find a male chauvinist worthy of her and bear his children, the more the better. A woman is allowed to work, but a career is clearly an unsatisfactory alternative to marriage, unhappy or not. An aggressive woman district at-

SHOW BUSINESS

torney, beset by a number of personal conflicts, cracked under the strain of a cross-examination she was conducting on a recent episode of CBS's *The Secret Storm*. "What's she going to be like after this?" her son asked his girl friend at the local health-food restaurant. "Her memory . . ." As any veteran viewer could have told him, she should have known better than to take a man's job in the first place.

Sudsville—usually a small, vaguely Midwestern town—is a highly structured social community and a highly ordered moral universe. Evil is eventually punished there, even if it takes years, and good finally emerges triumphant after a prolonged purgatory. "If a man has an affair," says Nick Nicholson, producer of *The Edge of Night* on CBS, "he has to have a good reason for it. Then he should feel guilty and suffer so that we can salvage him. Finally, he has to do something noble; then the audience will feel better about him. The bonds of marriage on our show are still sacred. A man can get a divorce, but not because he's having an affair—unless, of course, he's a villain."

Some soap writers—many of them women—proudly trace their craft back to the 19th century serials of writers like Charles Dickens. The analogy, though flattering to the soaps, is apt enough. The trials of Amy and Sandy or Nick and Martha are just as important to many TV viewers as the sorrows of Little Nell were to readers a century ago—and just as gratifyingly hopeless. Says Kitty Barsky, a writer on both *One Life to Live* and *All My Children*: "This is the big payoff—to end up with everyone watching in tears at the end."

Situation Report

TO audiences, the women behind the performers, the women who design or edit or photograph or write, are invisible. Indeed, backstage and off-screen, those women are all but invisible too—because there are so few of them.

How few is hard to say. TV networks and movie companies decline to release figures on their female employees, and some craft unions do not keep track of membership by sex. The International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators will say only that its women members tend to be concentrated in such job areas as prop makers, costumers, makeup and hair stylists, publicists and lib technicians. Even in these jobs they are outnumbered by men. The Writers Guild of America, Inc., which includes movie scriptwriters and writers of TV news and entertainment shows, has an estimated membership of 4,500. Of that number, a spokesman guesses that two out of seven are women.

Film editing offers more opportunity to women, relatively speaking: New York Local 771, for example, which comprises TV as well as movie film editors, has nearly 1,000 members of whom 90 are female. But women film editors have attained a disproportionate

level of accomplishment. Among the top practitioners in the field are such women as Mili Bonsignori (*Hunger in America*, *What If the Dream Comes True?* for CBS), Thelma Schoonmaker (*Woodstock*) and Dede Allen (*Bonnie and Clyde*, *Little Big Man*).

On the other hand, editors of TV video tape are almost all men. The three major networks have only one female tape technician. In other technical areas, there is only one union film camerawoman in the nation—though with increasing use of smaller, lighter 16-mm. cameras there may soon be more. A few women also freelance as sound technicians for TV and more often for radio.

Despite some recent changes, female producers and directors are still scarce. In TV, women producers usually have to find a niche by specializing in daytime, documentary or educational shows rather than in hard news or prime-time entertainment.

Even in the performing areas—where, after all, there is no substitute for a woman when the script calls for one—disparities appear. Feminists argue that a male point of view prevails in deciding whether male or female characters are more interesting. A recent run-down showed that movies currently in production called for 144 men in featured roles v. 66 women. In 26 new TV shows for the fall season, men outnumbered women in the casts by 283 to 81.

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DIDION



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When Chaucer's earthy Wife of Bath made that ill-veiled threat, literature was still largely in the hands not only of men but monks. It was more than four centuries before women in any numbers began to write fiction; but almost as soon as they did, it was clear that writing talent has no gender. Jane Austen is one of the supreme geniuses of the novel, and only a handful of writers have exceeded the accomplishment of George Eliot, the Brontës, Virginia Woolf. For years, though, criticism has been full of daffy generalizations uttered with patriarchal assurance about women as miniaturists, delicate sensibilities, custodians of domestic custom.

That kind of remark is going out of fashion, but the mark of Adam is still quite visible. Anthony Burgess, a first-rate commentator on fiction, still "gains no pleasure from serious reading that lacks a strong male thrust and a brutal intellectual content." Louis Auchincloss once paused in the course of a critical essay on Jean Stafford to express awe that she was resourceful enough to hail a cab.

It is true that women have generally excelled in the "cottage industries" of publishing—mysteries and romantic escape fiction. From Charlotte Brontë to Colette, they have been most widely admired for their writing about love. Today, however, a good deal of serious women's fiction is echoing to the cadences of hate, or at least anger. There are enough stories about the wickedness of men and descriptions of male lapses in courage and feeling to delight the Wife of Bath.

As never before, female biology and sexuality are being used as raw material for fiction. The trend did not appear overnight. Among the lonely precursors of the new irate accent in fiction was Christina Stead's

The Man Who Loved Children, one of the most virulent portraits of male delusion and domestic agony ever created. Though it has become a minor classic, it was all but unnoticed when it came out in 1940. In the 1950s Simone de Beauvoir's *She Came to Stay* and Mary McCarthy's *A Charmed Life* introduced to a wide audience the intelligent, exacting female who assumes that all the best minds are androgynous and finds nothing but trouble as a result. Now the growing list includes Doris Lessing, Sylvia Plath, Joan Didion, Margaret Atwood, Marge Piercy, Cynthia Buchanan and Joyce Carol Oates.

No book is more important to understanding the new perspective than Doris Lessing's *The Golden Notebook*, published in 1962. It is an ambitious, cerebral work about a generous, brave and intelligent woman named Anna Wulf, a writer, leftist, divorcee, analyst and who, like the author, emigrated from South Africa to London. Anna thinks of herself as "a free woman," independent of marriage contracts and numerous other social conventions, really interested only in people "who have tried the frontiers."

The Golden Notebook is an investigation of that kind of woman's experience, in and out of love, particularly after she is no longer young.

It turns out that old bonds are at least as important as new freedoms. Though she is hardly an average housewife, Anna wakes up one morning beside her lover with what she calls "housewife's disease." It is a tension, "an unavoidable tension resentment. Resentment against what? An unfairness. That I should have to spend so much of my time worrying over details, that he will spend his day served by women in all kinds of capacities. I learned that the resentment is impersonal. It is the disease of women in our time. I can see it in women's faces, their voices."

Society serves its men better than its women. But Anna—and the author—are large-spirited enough to conquer mere resentment. A greater problem, and one that, unlike Anna, many free women do not care to acknowledge, concerns love. The fact is that Anna's lovers leave her not because of fights or faults, but because

their need for her is gone. Anna's need remains—to a painful degree. An old-fashioned dilemma indeed for a free woman, and Lessing does not miss the irony. At the end of the book Anna says ruefully, "Here lies Anna Wulf, who was always too intelligent. She let them go."

A lethal Lessing story is *One Off a Short List*, about a failed novelist who decides he must "have" a successful woman. He chokes with jealousy watching her work calmly with her peers, but he mistakes his tears for libido. Glimming icebergs of detail fall from the page. Sizing up the woman's pleasant study, the man thinks, "I wouldn't like it if my wife had a room like this." Like a weary warrior goddess, Lessing views the seduction step by monstrous step. The woman gives in out of pity for the lout. "The stupid cow, the slut," he concludes.

The story illustrates one of the most popular themes in current women's fiction—the way men use women. Customarily the man is seen as pompous, competent in a petty way and callous. Sue Kaufman's *Diary of a Mad Housewife*, a shrewd and graceful comedy, shows an ambitious lawyer husband telephoning orders to his shaking wife, who has just nearly been mugged, about packing his suitcase: "Have you got a pencil? I want my tan cowhide two-suit, not the one from Mark Cross, the new one from T. Anthony. Then I'll need two suits—the gray Glen-plaid Dacron-and-worsted from Brooks, and the oxford-gray basket-weave polyester-worsted from Press. Then six ties, use your own judgment, keeping the suit in mind . . ." And so it goes. After taking down a veritable mail-order catalogue, the wife also throws in underwear, handkerchiefs and a belt—items her peacock forgot.

Irony, rather than the frontal anger of the Women's Lib movement, has turned out to be the way novelists approach advertising and consumer myths that try to keep a girl in front of a mirror or a stove or send her chasing after a husband and material possessions. Margaret Atwood's *The Edible Woman* is a wise little novel about a nice girl named Marian who works for a firm of market analysts, spending her time investigating people's reactions to ad slogans. As the date of her wedding to an equally nice young lawyer approaches, she gags on anything she

BOOKS



EPSTEIN

ELLMANN

FIRESTONE

GREER

tries to eat. Relief comes only when she bakes a woman-shaped cake, decorates it to resemble herself and sends it off to her fiancé. The message is to leave her alone to find out who she is and what she wants.

Sylvia Plath's *The Bell Jar*, published nine years ago, has become a cult book in part because it turned out to be a compendium of free women's complaints. None is more devastating than her lampoon of the Boy Friend, Buddy Willard, who is afflicted with the hauteur born of a doting mother and a medical education. Whether conferring upon the heroine the privilege of becoming Mrs. Buddy Willard or asking her upstate to compete with a nurse he thinks he is "infatuated with," Buddy is the ultimate soap-sculpture man.

Extremists in Women's Lib confront the possibility of doing without men altogether, or using them sparingly for breeding purposes, but few women novelists have gone so far. Monique Wittig's *Les Guerillères*, which describes an almost mythological society of Amazons, is the exception. Part of the reason for this restraint, probably, is that a novel, unlike politics, needs emotional complexity to flourish. Women's deep malaise, moreover, is more amorphous, more tangled with emotional and cultural roots than polemicists can afford to contemplate.

During her lectures, the insouciant Gertrude Stein used to pose a general question: "How do you like what you have?" That is close to the heart of the women's dilemma. Many do not seem to want what they have in life; and not coincidentally, it is getting harder for them to know what they do want. The result, as portrayed in fiction, is an ambivalent state of free-floating anxiety and dissatisfaction.

One of the best descriptions of this not uniquely feminine complaint is Joan Didion's *Play It As It Lies*, a novel about a minor actress named Maria Wyeth. Maria is having what used to be called a nervous breakdown. She drives the Los Angeles freeways as if she were sailing in a regatta, listens to call-in shows, broods over ghostly newspaper items about toddlers locked in burning cars. Much of what she has done with her life is repugnant or meaningless to her. The various sequences in her considerable sexual experience are even hard to differentiate: "At times it seems as if her life had been a single sexual en-

counter, no beginnings or endings, no point beyond itself." Maria's only child is mentally unbalanced, a fact she cannot cope with. She flees her exasperated husband, seeks out old lovers and then repels them, goes to parties she hates and behaves badly, is finally a passive accomplice in a suicide.

Given charity, she could merely be called a woman both too careless and too fastidious emotionally for her own good. She can make no kind of accommodation. When she takes a psychiatric test, she writes NOTHING APPLIES across the questions. She concludes, "They will misread the facts, invent connections, will extrapolate reasons where none exist."

For enduring persuasive power a novel customarily needs to be freer of self-pity than most recent fiction by women writers—more like Doris Lessing, that is, than some of the others. But these books may well be more enlightening and less misleading than many of the militant feminist tracts. They provide nuances and perspective. They talk about people in the context not of politics but of life and death, love and time. Away from the polemics and the rhetoric, the underlying problem of women may be one of specifics—or a vast mosaic. Fiction cannot—and should not—supply answers to problems or define them simply. Still, few writers have more justly or modestly stated the feminist case than Maria in *Play It As It Lies*: "Whatever arrangements were made, they worked less well for women." Amen. •Martha Duffy

Lib and Let Lib

The ink had hardly dried on Kate Millett's paperback contract and Book-of-the-Month Club sale of *Sexual Politics*, when U.S. publishers began pressing pens into the hands of feminist radicals, hoping for a rich marriage of commerce and cultural revolution. Scores of nonfiction titles have already resulted, with scores more to come. Predictably, most of these creations were hotly and hastily done by Women's righters who are not, alas, women writers. Hardly any can compare to the majestic range and mastery of the few earlier classics on the subject, Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* (Bantam; \$1.25) or Virginia Woolf's graceful, extraordinarily affecting *A Room of One's Own* (Harcourt; \$1.95), both happily still in print.

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BOOKS

booksellers have set up special Women's Lib shelves. In Los Angeles a new and fast-growing Feminist Book Club offers members 150 selected titles in a dozen helpful categories. Among them: Basic Feminist Library, Children's Liberation and, yes, Hersitory. Otherwise, readers who want to keep up are hard put to make a choice among so many titles and subjects that so often sound the same. The list below of some of the best books brought out in the past few years may help.

So may a little perspective. Many of these writers operate on a number of assumptions that are questionable and sometimes infuriatingly simplistic. Samples: the nuclear family is the root of all evil; the difference between men and women is not biological but the result of male exploitation. But a country is apt to get not only the politicians but the polemics it deserves. In ignoring history, in being statistics-prone, in using hard-sell copy to deplore, among other things, the effects of consumer oversell, in invoking the individual's absolute right to absolute self-expression at all costs, in preaching that a rejiggered environment can cure all hereditary ills, Women's Lib writers are simply doing what seems to come naturally to other Americans these days. Besides, once the Hectoring and hyperbole are allowed for, the collective ease made in these books against feminine exploitation is compelling.

REBIRTH OF FEMINISM by Judith Hale and Ellen Levine. 488 pages. Quadrangle. \$10.

The authors, one on the staff of CBS News, the other a freelance writer, seem to have read everything written about Women's Lib and then readably and objectively distilled it into a history, guide, and reference work about feminist attitudes on every conceivable subject from Adam's rib theology to the recent correction of *Sesame Street's* "male chauvinism." The book to have if you're having only one.

THE DIALECTIC OF SEX by Shulamith Firestone. 274 pages. Morrow. \$6.95.

"Childhood is hell," Shulamith Firestone, 26, writes in passionate italics. Her book is most notable because it links past repression of children with that of women and argues that science and cybernetics have now provided the means to release them both. The answer is a society in which marriage and the family will be abolished, along with all involuntary education. Children, if conceived at all, will be incubated outside the body of the mother. Polarized sex roles will disappear in favor of polymorphous perversity practiced in new social units called "households," loosely linked, nonauthoritarian collections of people, including small children, who contract



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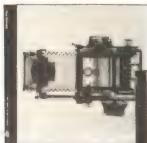
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to live together for periods of seven to ten years, but are free to do exactly what they want. Perhaps the author should visit the United Nations.

WOMAN'S ESTATE by Juliet Mitchell. 182 pages. Pantheon. \$5.95.

The author, a Freud-oriented left-wing British scholar, considers the women's movement internationally and often finds it wanting in serious political strategy and economic understanding. She thinks, for example, that American feminists have underrated the strength of the family and spent too much time tilting at vulgar popularizations of Freud's penis-envy theory. Author Mitchell herself regards the family both as the greatest impediment of women's oppression and

Situation Report

In New York City, the center of the industry, there is only one female president of a large publishing firm. Corporate officers for the largest firms are virtually all male.

Women fare much better in such positions as publicity directors, rights and permissions executives. As a whole, New York's bigger and more prestigious publishers employ roughly one woman editor for every two men, including editors of juvenile-book programs, who are usually women. A considerable number of the top trade-book editors are women, and their salaries appear to be more or less equal to their male competitors'.

Sexist attitudes toward women are more evident at the lower levels, among assistant editors and "gals Friday." Bright, well-educated young women may have an easier time than young men breaking into publishing, but they are often exploited for secretarial chores in ways that rarely apply to male beginners.

Sex discrimination toward women writers is almost nonexistent. Still, women produce a large share of U.S. fiction, biography and autobiography, but considerably less of economics, politics and foreign affairs. Notably, one of the past decade's most important books of social criticism was written by a woman: Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*.

Some 60% of all literary agents listed in the trade journal *Literary Market Place* are women. One possible reason might rankle feminists: many writers may feel a trifle better entrusting a newborn manuscript to the care of a woman.

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BOOKS

the last bulwark of capitalism. A difficult, chilling book that makes clear how a socialist revolution can use the feminist movement, and vice versa.

WOMAN'S PLACE by Cynthia F. Epstein. 221 pages. University of California. \$7.95.

A clear and dispassionate study of how well-educated women perform, or don't, in serious professions and why. The author, a sociologist, examines in pragmatic and professional terms the attitudes of men, the confusion created by a multiplicity of feminine roles, the illogical shifts in what jobs are considered suitable for women.

THINKING ABOUT WOMEN by Mary Ellmann. 240 pages. Harcourt Bruce Jovanovich. \$4.95.

Literary Critic Mary Ellmann's book is concerned with mind and language? She shows with wit and logic that sexual analogies and feminine literary stereotypes—e.g., formlessness, passivity, piety, irrationality—are the misleading products of masculine delusion and illogic. A pleasure, whatever the reader's persuasion about Women's Lib.

BORN FEMALE by Caroline Bird with Sara Welles Briller. 288 pages. McKay. \$6.95.

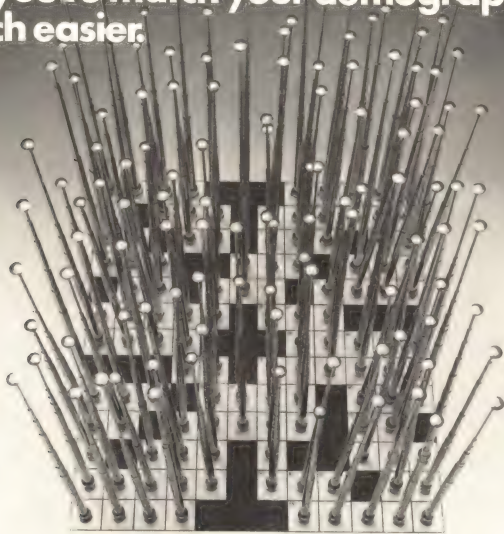
One of the earliest of the recent feminist titles (1968). It offers a sophisticated and restrained survey of the fight for women's rights, takes up the social, moral and personal costs of keeping women down, and suggests that post-Pill America is heading for an androgynous condition in which men and women will be free of sexually determined roles. Author Bird has been trained in economy, and she is at her best following a series of Harvard Business School girls job hunting (most of them got mental offers), or getting down to cases as she explodes the myth that women "own" the U.S. A sober antidote for anyone who still thinks that women who demand total "equity" are likely to froth at the mouth.

THE FEMALE EUNUCH by Germaine Greer. 349 pages. McGraw-Hill. \$6.95.

The Women's Lib writer most free of jargon and repressed rage. Germaine Greer breezily admits that modern women tend to be helpless, querulous, narrow and boring. Then, like other feminists, but with more compassion and persuasive zest, she shows how, particularly in the years just after puberty, the Freudian concept of the female sexual role, social conditioning and the cosmetic conspiracy combine to drain girls' energy and curiosity, leaving them passive, narcissistic and mindless. One hesitates to call an opponent of marriage engaging, but Germaine Greer is certainly that.

—Timothy Foote

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BILLIE JEAN KING STRETCHES FOR FOREHAND SHOT AT WIMBLEDON

SPORT

Two Pros

In the statistics-conscious world of sport, where men patently run faster, jump higher and throw farther, women are doggedly becoming more visible and more valuable. Most of their recent, considerable gains have been in sports in which they compete among themselves, particularly tennis, golf, track and field. But some women have begun to enter the male domains of horse racing, motorcycling, and even baseball umpiring.

Two who have contributed dramatically to the growing success of women in professional athletics are Tennis Pro Billie Jean King and Jockey Robyn Smith. In 1971, at 27, Mrs. King became the first woman athlete in history to earn more than \$100,000 in a year. She slammed and sliced her way to \$117,000 in prize money (winning 19 tournaments) and picked up another \$30,000 in endorsements. Robyn, 27, made much less last year,

about \$20,000. But she earned it by riding against some of the best male jockeys in the nation and winning 42 races.

Some men might be inclined to belittle these achievements on the grounds that Billie Jean might have trouble taking a set from any one of the world's top 100 male players, and that Robyn may never be another Willie Shoemaker. But those arguments really miss the point: Mrs. King and Miss Smith are, simply and sufficiently, two exceptional athletes who have managed to advance further in their chosen sports than any women before them.

At the same time, they have clearly advanced the cause of women in general. But that contribution, each is quick to point out, has been coincidental. Asserts Billie Jean: "I want to be treated as an athlete because that's what I am. I'm doing what I enjoy most and getting paid for it." Echoes Robyn: "I'm not trying to prove

anything as a female jockey. I do it because I enjoy it so much, and I think people should do whatever makes them happy."

Both women have encountered difficulties and indignities because of their sex. For Billie Jean, sexist slights have often been compounded by tennis' traditional snootiness. In her first tournament, as a preteen-ager in Southern California, she was ordered out of a group picture because she was wearing shorts instead of a tennis dress. No one expects Robyn to wear a skirt while she is riding a horse, but her dressing facilities are inevitably second-rate; at Gulfstream Park, near Miami, she changes in the doctor's office.

Abortion Ad. Some women—and, indeed, some men—might regard Billie Jean as the personification of a liberated wife. When she was still an amateur player, she helped to pay her husband's way through law school at the University of California. These days she spends maybe 40 weeks a year traveling and playing professional tennis, while her husband, Larry, spends much of the time practicing law near their home in Berkeley. Says Billie Jean: "Larry is a very strong individual. Sometimes our situation bothers me, but it doesn't seem to bother him. I don't like it when he is introduced as Billie Jean King's husband, but then I would not like to be known just as Larry King's wife."

Last year Billie Jean was among 53 notable women who signed an ad that later appeared in the new women's magazine *Ms.* The ad stated that the signers had undergone abortions and urged repeal of all anti-abortion laws. In fact, Billie Jean has not had an abortion. "I wish I'd known more about that ad before I agreed to sign it," she admits. But she has not made an issue out of the erroneous impression her signature created, apparently because she so strongly believes

Situation Report

ONE impressive gauge of the growing importance of women in sports is the prize money for which they compete. By that measure and others, women athletes have come a long way. In the U.S. during 1968, for example, women tennis players competed for less than \$75,000; this year they will play for about \$700,000. Women vied for \$650,000 in 21 tournaments last year on the Ladies Professional Golf Association circuit; this year they will go after probably \$950,000 in 27 tournaments. Purses for the Professional Women Bowlers Association totaled about \$96,000 last year; the projected total for this year is \$250,000.

Men still compete for larger purses, and the top men still win more than their female counterparts. Though no U.S. male tennis player matched Billie Jean King's earnings of \$117,000 last year, Australian Rod Laver collected \$292,000. In women's golf, last year's top money-maker was Kathy Whitworth, with \$43,500; in men's golf, 58 men made more than that, and Jack Nicklaus topped everybody with \$244,490. In bowling, Patty Costello led the women last year with \$5,275;

John Petraglia led the men, with more than \$85,000.

Apart from those who play for profit, growing numbers of women are turning to sport for pleasure, exercise or the excitement of amateur competition. Last year 9,525 women were registered with the Amateur Athletic Union for competition in track and field; this year, thus far, registration has leaped to 21,942. In swimming, 32,293 women were registered with the A.A.U. last year; registration this year already totals 38,408.

Track and field and swimming are among eleven sports open to women at the Olympic Games this summer in Munich. Men will compete in 22. There is further disparity in the number of events in each sport open to the sexes. In track and field, for instance, there are 24 events for men, only 14 for women (including two new events—the 1,500-meter run and 1,600-meter relay). Women used to get even shorter shrift. None were allowed to compete in anything at the first modern games in 1896. At the first ancient games, in Greece in 776 B.C., women were barred even as spectators. Those caught seeking furtive glimpses took part in an unofficial event: they were taken to the top of a giant rock and flung to their deaths.



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ROBYN SMITH AT GULFSTREAM
She could teach school.

in the right of women to have abortions if they want them. Actually, she says, she wants children and would quit the tennis circuit for good if she had a baby now. "If I become a mother," Billie Jean says, "I want to be a good mother."

Robyn, on the other hand, hardly thinks about marriage and children. A former Hollywood starlet, she is frequently asked for dates, sometimes by fellow jockeys. But she seldom goes out except for dinner with married friends. Her working schedule leaves little time for a social life: up at 5:30 a.m. to exercise horses, back home briefly to shower and change, off to the track to race and early to bed to rest.

Pet Rats. Except for an occasional game of golf, her main interest away from horse racing—and her only apparent idiosyncrasy—is caring for her three pet rats—Peanuts, Pepper and Paprika. When she travels to wherever the racing season takes her, Robyn carries the rats in a handbag; at her home on Long Island, N.Y., she keeps them in a terrarium. "They're nice to go home to," she says. "They're very tame and come when called."

Robyn began her career as a jockey three years ago in her home town of San Francisco. After six months of roughing it on half-mile tracks around the fair circuit, she decided to tackle the top tracks in New York and Florida. One trainer she impressed was Frank Wright; he had once said that he would not use a woman jockey until the Chicago Bears drafted a tight end from Vassar—and put her in their starting lineup.

Jockey Smith is not dependent on racing for an income; she graduated from Stanford with an A.B. in English. "I can always teach school for a living," she says. "But I don't want to." Neither does Billie Jean want to be simply a lawyer's wife. In the changing world of sport, they have found it possible to be the athletes they want to be.

MILESTONES

Married. María del Carmen Martínez-Bordiu Franco, 21, eldest granddaughter of Generalissimo Francisco Franco; and Don Alfonso de Borbón y Dampierre, 35, diplomat and grandson of Spain's last king, Alfonso XIII; in Madrid.

Married. Brian Priestman, 45, English-born conductor of the Denver Symphony Orchestra and former musical director of the Royal Shakespeare Theatre at Stratford-on-Avon; and Mary-Ford Stockton McClave; both for the first time; in Berkeley, Calif.

Died. Yaacov Herzog, 50, Israeli diplomat and foreign affairs adviser; of a stroke; in Jerusalem. An ordained rabbi and graduate lawyer, Herzog was an intelligence expert in the underground before Israel became independent. Afterward he quietly served a succession of prime ministers. He was David Ben-Gurion's closest counselor during the 1956 Suez-Sinai campaign, and following the war used his cordial relationship with Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to help resolve U.S.-Israeli differences. Herzog was director-general of the Premier's office for Levi Eshkol and Golda Meir, service that earned him the sobriquet "the Henry Kissinger of Israel."

Died. Richard Church, 78, English poet, novelist and critic; of a heart attack; in Kent, England. As a young man, Church entered the customs service to support himself while he wrote at night. He was so hard up that he sometimes brought home the food samples that had been sent to customs for analysis. He eventually won recognition and published more than 50 books of fiction, poetry and essays. His best-known novel *The Porch* (1937) and his 1955 autobiography *Over the Bridge* were widely praised.

Died. Basil O'Connor, 80, founder of the March of Dimes; in Phoenix. Research into the cause and treatment of polio was a poorly financed, haphazard affair when O'Connor and his crippled law partner Franklin D. Roosevelt founded the Warm Springs, Ga., therapy center in 1927. This led to the formation eleven years later of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, with O'Connor as its chief. The organization raised \$870 million for treatment and research and sponsored the development of vaccines by Jonas Salk and Albert Sabin. Though he also served as president of the American National Red Cross for a time, O'Connor made the National Foundation his life's work. With the threat of polio virtually eliminated by the early '60s, the foundation turned to combatting birth defects and arthritis.

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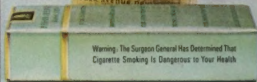




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